“Old dogs, new tricks”

An exploration of local climate activism in Norway and Denmark

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Culture, Environment and Sustainability

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2.05.2013

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to Maria, who kept my spirits up, gave good advice, and endured my short crises and long monologues during my writing. Thanks to Karen and Hilde for engaging guidance, to Mom and Dad, and to all the fellow students I've had the pleasure to get to know during my two years at SUM. Last, but not least, thanks to all the respondents who gave me their time.

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1.0 Introduction

Climate change is becoming a part of our reality, both physically, through warming climes, melting ice caps and changing weather, and socially, through new ideas, institutions and political measures. According to the International Panel of Climate Change, our global society must go through deep economic and social changes to effectively mitigate and adapt to climate change (IPCC 2007). In this process, an abstract issue is becoming national and local, an object of governmental and municipal politics, of business decisions, of consumer choices, of voting behavior. The "global" issue of climate change is becoming local.

Understanding the way political forces can shape social responses to environmental issues have been described as one of the most important intellectual challenges of our time (Steinberg & Vanderveer 2012, pos 248-250)[1]. All political actors contribute to transform the abstract issue of climate change into concrete changes or innovations. The environmental movement may play an especially important role through advocacy, information campaigns or direct action, environmental organizations can facilitate the necessary societal changes, both in opposition to, and in cooperation to other political actors. This is a study of what role the environmental movement takes in this process.

My main research question is the following: what roles does the environmental movement play in making climate change a local issue?

Studies of the environmental movement have largely focused on their impact on national and international politics. As Steinberg and Vanderveer (2012) argues, we need more knowledge about "the formative political experiences of environmental activists", to avoid a "disembodied" understanding of the role of non-governmental actors in the global

[1] I own the Kindle (e-reader) edition of this book, and several others that I cite in this thesis. In this increasingly common digital format, most books do not have ordinary pagination. The pages are adjusted to the largest possible font on the device, and pages in "normal" fonts are divided into "positions", not unlike the passages in the Bible. To make it possible to trace the sourced citations, I have seen it necessary to refer to these positions when no ordinary pagination is provided, abbreviated as "pos" in the in-text references.

environmental struggle (Steinberg &Vanderveer 2012: position 498). The environmental movement takes part in shaping the issue into concrete local action.

This process also affects the organizations. Approaching a new issue may change their priorities, structure and forms of advocacy. The discovery of new environmental problems has, throughout the history of the movement, led to new forms of environmental activism, both through the establishment of new organizations, and through changes within established ones.

To understand this process, we need a better understanding of the political experiences and assessments of people who work directly with climate change in their local communities. My approach is strongly influenced by Asdal (2011) and Yearley (2005), who have both presented empirically based studies of how the complex issue of environmental activism can be interpreted sociologically and politically.

The title of this thesis is inspired by one of my respondents, who wondered whether his environmental organization should have approached the climate issue at all. The established environmental movement is an "old dog", and facilitating effective climate change activism may be the hardest trick that it has had to learn so far. Perhaps the dog is barking up the wrong tree. Perhaps a new dog should enter the arena. Perhaps we need to adjust the trick. In this study, I will try to shed light on these questions.

1.1 The structure of this thesis

In the following two subchapters, I will discuss how the global issue of climate change is becoming "local", and how the environmental movement has become more centralized and professionalized, but may be moving back towards grassroots activities and popular mobilization. Chapter two will outline my choice of cases, my sources, my theoretical perspectives and my method, as well as including a discussion of my methodical challenges. I start chapter three with an overview of the

current structure and strategy of my two cases, including their core philosophy and their budgetary prioritizations. Chapter four gives an overview of the attitude towards local activists on the central level, and of what kinds of programs the central level has initiated to include members in climate change-related activism. The fifth chapter will explore how local activists are working with climate change. Here, we will see that several chapters report that they do not work with the issue, or that they feel that the issue comes in conflict with other environmental concerns they struggle with locally. Here, we pause for a premature conclusion, which I will spend the following chapters problematizing: that climate change is not well fitted for local grassroots work. The sixth chapter discusses how the organizations I study may be moving away from grassroots-based activism in general, and how professionalization and centralization affects the ability of local activists to address the issue. In chapter seven, we delve into the different ways in which local activists see climate change, and how their perspectives are strikingly varied, and not set in stone. In the eight chapter, I will look at how several of the conflicts we have looked at are also tied to the local activist's pride in their existing knowledge, and a failure to square this with climate change, or foster development of new expertise or modes of "cognitive praxis". I will argue that the climate change issue is harder to implement on the local level because has been framed within a general conflict between "cognitive regimes" within the movement. Lastly, I will look at specific examples of climate-related "cognitive praxis" at the local level, which may provide a better understanding of how local climate change activism may be done effectively.

In the text, I will refer to respondents by name when I quote them, directly or indirectly. I have made use of several of the organizations' documents and web resources. I references these in footnotes. I also make use of two "field recordings" meetings I have attended. I was allowed to use these as part of my thesis. When quoting from these recordings, I will cite the

names of the people I quote, and reference the recording in the footnotes. Details about the interviews, external sources and recordings are listed in the appendix.

1.2 Climate change – from global to local

Here, and in the following two subchapters, I will explore how both the climate change issue and the environmental movement is on a path of "localization". Climate change is a scientific term for the physical effects of global warming, a complex process that is only fully conceptualized and understood through mathematical models in the "global knowledge infrastructure" we call climate science (Edwards 2010:8). Understanding climate change requires information from several disciplines, and is based on a myriad of observations all over the globe. This global knowledge infrastructure has been connected coordinated by the United Nation's International Panel on Climate Change, established in 1988. Their reports lay the scientific foundation for the United States Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and are used as an important framework for national climate policy.

In the public discourse, climate change is also an "issue" – a matter of public concern, which is understood in a political and cultural context. While our scientific conception of climate change may change through observations and modelling, the Climate change issue is more malleable. The social conceptualization of the issue affects the organization's ideas about how, and at which political level, it can be addressed efficiently. Over time, these analyses may change, or be broadened to include new forms or levels of political action. This thesis will mainly concern climate change as a political and social concept.

Climate change has predominantly been conceptualized as a "global" issue. Like the depletion of the ozone layer and the creation of acid rain, effectively addressing climate change requires international cooperation, as the greenhouse gas emissions are widely, if not evenly, distributed between all the nations of the world. While some issues are clearly more

global in scope than others – climate change being a prime example - the conceptualization of an issue as global is also result of a political strategy, both from politicians and NGOs. The "global-ness" of an issue is "significantly a matter of labeling and, so to speak, social construction" (Yearley 2005:52).

This process can be witnessed on other issues. Biodiversity has traditionally been championed through national or municipal policy, but has, since the 1974 Stockholm Conference and the 1992 Rio Summit increasingly become a global concern. A recent example is an article published in Nature June 2012, where ecosystems all over the globe was seen at a whole and the authors discuss whether a global "tipping point" is under way (Barnosky et al. 2012). Different conceptualizations of issues may serve different political goals. An understanding of biodiversity as an urgent global concern may underpin the ongoing attempts at creating a more effective global framework to preserve biodiversity through the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity.

As the climate issue has mainly been understood as "global", the political response has largely taken shape as a top-down global effort. The experiences from the successful mitigation of the depletion of the ozone layer was the main foundation for the international response to climate change, which has taken shape as a UN-led convention – the United States Framework Convention on Climate Change - which binds countries to emission targets (Victor 2011:203). The experiences so far suggests that the top-heavy process has been deeply flawed. Despite over 20 years of negotiations, the concentration of CO_2 rising more rapidly than in the 90s.[2] The issue of ozone depletion was by far easier to tackle through this top-down framework than climate change has proven to be. (ibid.)

While climate change has been seen as one of the most "global" environmental problems of our age, understanding climate change as

[2] Gathered from Earth System Research Laboratory (2013)

strictly "global" can be problematic. As Tsing (2005) has argued, this perspective can serve to undermine local understanding and conditions:

> The global scale is privileged above all others. In contrast to Linnean Plant Classification or Muir-inspired nature appreciaton, the global scale is the locust of prediction as well as understanding. Local conditions can be predicted from the global model; that is the point of its globality. Local data may adjust the global model but never defy it. Its globality is all-embracing" (Tsing 2005:102).

Similarly, Yearley (2005) points out that there are problems with how the label "global" is used on environmental issues. The "global" label implies that the issue is equally urgent for all, but in practice, it can have an opposite effect: the idea of "globality" can be an excuse for inaction among developed countries, while it may underpin intervention in developing countries. While deforestation in the Amazon rain forest is seen as a global concern, which other countries have a stake in; the same is not the case for forests in more developed countries (Yearley, 2005:47).

The "global" framework can also become a hindrance for effective policy action. Victor (2011) argues that the current climate change framework has become "gridlocked". By focusing too much on an issue's "global-ness", we may make it harder to implement, and the implementation may become insensitive to local concerns, uniqueness or hindrances. A bigger problem is that this creates a policy bottleneck when the global model and global understandings of climate change does not lead to the formulation of effective national policy responses. Universal, global efforts to mitigate climate change has been slow, and plagued with conflict and setbacks (Victor 2011:48).

Understanding climate change as "global" may also create a fixation on global, one-off solutions, to be decided in pivotal international meetings. Victor urges us think of climate change as a development issue, not an environmental issue. "It isn't so much a Manhattan project – a crash effort focused on a specific goal without regard to cost. It is more like economic

development – a slow, subtle process of profound social change" (Victor, 2011:54). Similarly, North (2011) argues that

> Climate change and resource crises are urgent problems, but they are not problems that can be solved easily or quickly. There is no one point of pressure, passing a civil rights act, no decision not to deploy Cruise or Trident missiles, no decision not to invade Iraq that could have the same effect. No one demonstration could ever be seen to `succeed'. (North, 2011: pos 1569)

A profound social change through a myriad of small, incremental decisions requires decisions on the national and local/municipal level, and inclusion and involvement of political actors on several levels, to be effective. Like most "global" issues, both the causes and the effects of climate change will still be tied to places.

Steinberg and Vanderveer (2012) points out that the new kinds of environmental problem, which are increasingly global in nature, will still have to be addressed by specific movements and movement organizations within and across borders (Steinberg & Vanderveer 2012: pos 3100). On the governmental level, a process of "localization" of climate change is already underway. Governments in several countries have mandated municipal climate plans, both on issues of climate mitigation and – adaptation, and made efforts to inform the public about the effects of climate change and the ways they can be mitigated or must be adapted to. My study largely concerns what role the environmental movement will take in this inevitable process of "localization".

1.3 What is the environmental movement?

The environmental movement is a sprawling collection of organizations, evolved over more than a century, and containing different philosophies, courses of action and forms of organization. The core issue of environmentalism has been defined as changing the relationship between human society and the natural world, to halt or slow down environmental degradation. The impetus for local environmentalists may be the

experience of local pollution, loss of resources or wildlife, or a larger concern for the global environment and the future of our species (O'Neill 2012: position 2809). O'Neill (2012) divides the current environmental movement into four general groups: Wilderness and species preservation, access to and use of natural resources, responding to industrial and technological risk, and communitarian green movements, all with different choice of strategy, philosophies and practices. Environmental movements may have several overlapping organizations that address one or more of these issues (O'Neill, 2012 pos 2835-2840).

Environmental movements have often been seen in light of social movement theory, derived from studies within sociology, political science and anthropology of the new social movements that emerged from the 60s onwards, such as civil rights (in the United States), radical feminism, gay rights and environmentalism. Social movements have been broadly defined as:

> Association or set of associations organized around a common interest that seeks to influence collective outcomes without obtaining authoritative offices of government (Dryzek et al.: pos 114-115).

While connections may be drawn between these "social movements", their sociological and political foundation and function, environmentalism has distinct features which sets it apart from the other social movements. Yearley (2005) delineates three central characteristics: claims for international solidarity, the movement's intimate relationship to science, and the movement's ability to offer a concerted critique of, and alternative to, capitalist industrialism. (Yearley 2005:24)

Yearley (2005) relates the environmental movement's focus on expertise to Max Weber's classical analysis of social bases of authority: Traditional, charismatic and legal-rational. The environmental movement mainly use the latter, where claims to authority can be made "impersonally, on the basis of accepted and demonstrable principles. (Yearley 2005:118) This is an important insight when studying the environmental movement. The

Norwegian political scientist Stein Rokkan famously argued that "votes count, but resources decide" (Rokkan 1966). However, the environmental movement's resources can be hard to quantify. As Asdal (2011) points out, scientific arguments is an especially important "resource" beyond the parliamentary and the corporate channels. "Through laboratory analysis, and quantified measures, a minority can still achieve political influence" (Asdal, 2011:30). This does not mean that resources are unimportant. Science can both change established policy, and create new laws or regulations, but is never enough on its own (ibid.).

However, focusing on influence on national politics may cause us to miss important aspects of the environmental movement. NGOs may supplement other actors, including governmental institutions, the media, businesses, looser public movement and scientists, who play different roles in the political process. NGOs may be agents of change and social learning, by building movements, creating examples, mobilizing political pressure and facilitate "social learning". They may create not just political shifts, but also cultural developments towards sustainability. (Doyle 2009:106)

This does not entail a view of NGOs as an entirely separate actor. NGOs can be seen as part of what Dryzek (2003) describes as an "oppositional public sphere", which is "not (…) an alternative to the state, but (…) a partner and opponent in historical interaction" (Dryzek et al. 2003 pos 2907-2908). While earlier theorists, such as Stein Rokkan, view these spheres as emergent form of state politics, Dryzek argues that this historical interaction can also be studied as more permanent spheres of political action. "Civil society is not just a resting place for social movements on their way to the state" (Dryzek et al. pos 2897-3344). In short, the environmental movement play an important role in and of themselves, and their efforts to recruit and engage people in climate activism can be an important and long-lasting contribution to a broader social change that will involve all the actors mentioned above.

When environmentalists work together to achieve their political goals, they form movement organizations. Depending on the scope of the issue(s) they work with, they may be international, national or strictly local in scope. They may also choose to rely on mass mobilization or on centralized, professional work. The forms of activism are diverse, from production of scientific studies to civil disobedience, from lobbyism towards the central government to information campaigns aimed at the general population. The organizations or movements are usually studied within their national context, but may also be sorted by issue, such as the global climate movement, for example (O'Neill 2012: pos 2809-2824). To understand how the broader movement's strategies are affected by climate change, I want to look at organizations that are both local, national and international in scope, which are at the core of their respective movements, and which rely on several forms of activism.

1.4 The development of environmentalism

Here, I will discuss the trajectory of the environmental movement in western countries. I will argue that the organizations have moved away from the participatory ideals of the 60s and 70s, and that this movement may impede current efforts to mobilize people on the issue of climate change.

Throughout the environmental movement's history, both old and new organizations have broadened the scope of their work, as science has unveiled new damaging consequences of capitalist industrialism. This has in turn affected their choice of strategy, along with other factors. Several of the issues that the environmental movement approaches are counterintuitive, hard to observe or even unknowable without scientific monitoring. Expertise is needed to assess the biodiversity and vulnerability of natural habitats, the threatened status of a species, or the negative health effects of local pollution. The need for expertise is even bigger when it comes to "invisible" atmospheric pollution. The hole in the ozone layer, the causes of acid rain, the effects of chemicals in the ecosystem are all

issues that are only knowable through science. This strongly influences the strategies of the movement (Yearley, 2005:21).

Theorists of environmental movements have broadly categorized their development in two large "waves", brought forth boy by new issues and broader social and political changes. The first wave came with early organizations such as the American Sierra Club (founded in 1892), which was heavily influenced by the ideas of early 19th century American writers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Thoreau. These writers penned some of the first protests against the encroachments of industry upon the still virgin forests of the new world. The movement was driven by natural scientists armed with new knowledge of the natural world, and resulted, among other things, in the conception and establishment of national parks, a trend that continues to this day (Giddens 2009:51).

The second large wave of environmentalism took shape in the 1960s and 70s, emerging in Germany, and connected to other "new social movement" issues (Giddens 2009:52). It was inspired by both the political upheavals of the late 60s, new issues that required radically new ways of viewing the world, and new forms of political action. Rachel Carson's *The Silent Spring* from (1962) described the emerging problem of chemical pollution, and its subtle damaging effects on nature and human health. Her book had a large effect on green ideology and forms of action. New issues also increased the scope of environmental activism. Publications such as *Limits to Growth* (1972) and *The Population Bomb* (1969) created a consciousness of global environmental problems. (Doherty 2006: 698) This increased the emphasis on international solidarity.

In many countries, the environmental movement turned to mass mobilization and grassroots activism (O'Neill 2012: pos 2855-2886). "Grassroots activities" refer to voluntary action in addition to meetings and other forms of formalized work through organizatons (Andersen. 2004: 126). A central feature of the new social movements was that they provided a form of "social laboratories", democratizing and disseminating

forms of knowledge production, and transforming them into action. Activists could take part in cooperative research, new forms of technology, participatory policymaking and assessment of technology (Eyerman & Jamison:71, 93). The second wave of the environmental movement saw green movement organizations performing different forms of "citizen science" in their opposition to capitalist and industrial development, by assessing the environmental and social consequences. The environmental movement involved members in social action, which made the local environmentalists central actors in combining cosmological and technological knowledge, forms of "cognitive praxis". These activities included recycling, ecological agriculture, producing wind power (especially in the case of Denmark) and energy conservation (Jamison 2006:56).

Scientific discoveries from the 70s onwards increased the focus on global atmospheric pollution. Most important was the discovery of the ozone hole, acid rain and climate change. As Carson's chemicals, these issues are qualitatively different from most previous environmental problems, not least because of the vast scope of both the causes and the effects in time and space. Today, climate change is one of our biggest known pollution problems, and the issue receives increasing attention from both governments and civil society (Victor, 2011:30).

These issues also changed the structure of the environmental movement. It led to the establishment of international, professional organizations such as Greenpeace, but also by a marked centralization and professionalization of "first wave" organizations, which were increasingly seen as the "mainstream" of the environmental movement, having maintained their activities for decades (Jamison 2001:158). The "cognitive praxis" of the second wave was "more or less decomposed, or deconstructed", and the movement's knowledge and interests were transformed into professional expertise, and coopted into mainstream politics. In this process, the environmental movement became "insiders",

and their modes of cognitive praxis became an institutionalized part of mainstream politics and business (Jamison 2006:56). The institutionalization of environmental sentiment in government, academia and business underpinned a professional and centralized organization structure in the environmental movement. As the "rebellious" ideas of the 60s and 70s became mainstream, so did the organization. (Jamison 2006:57) In addition, environmental movement organizations were included in decision-making and policy in several countries, which encouraged a centralized and professional structure (Rootes 1999:155) (Dryzek et al. 2003: pos 1419-1420).

Within the environmental movement, the "residual" regime from the second and first wave focused on the national and local, advocating action through "traditionalist resistance" and basing their activity on factual or lay forms of knowledge, and a sense of place or "rooting" in local communities (Jamison 2001:179).

Current environmental politics has been categorized as a "politics of expertise". Reitan (2004) defines this as a political process characterized by "(…) the use of scientific arguments, the definition of issues in technical, non-political terms and by processes on the bureaucratic arena" (Reitan 2004:439). Environmental policy is typically regulatory, especially in cases of pollution control, and concerned with reducing the damage from a set of persons on public commons. Such regulatory policies are "characterized by a large technical or scientific core in decision making, resulting in a dominant role being given to the professional bureaucracy" (Reitan 2004:439). The environmental movement has adapted to this form of policymaking. According to Jamison, the dominant, current regime, co-existing with the "residual", focus on transnational forms of agency, performing their action through modes similar to "commercial brokerage" and base their activity on scientific or managerial types of knowledge, rooted in scientific discipline or skills (Jamison 2001:179).

The dominant and the residual regime are often at odds with each other, and this conflict has caused division within the environmental movement, especially between the central leadership and local activists (Dowie 1996:173). Jamison (2001) envisions an emerging, potential new form of cognitive regime, involves a synthesis of the "residual" and "dominant". This emerging regime would create action through "exemplary mobilization", based on contextualized or situated knowledge, acquired through experience (Jamison 2001:179).

Climate change is approached by organizations that may embody this development, struggling with the gap between "residual" and "dominant" regimes of sustainable development, perhaps on the road to synthesis. This synthesis could in turn be a "hybrid" between the local and the global, "what has termed local cosmopolitanism or global ecological citizenship" (Jamison 2001:180). Such a synthesis might be crucial if the environmental movement wants to maintain their strength. As Dowie (1996) argues, in an assessment of the future of the American environmental movement at the turn of the 20th century:

> … The mainstream organizations will not and should not disappear. A federal strategy and the three L's – legislation, litigation and lobbying – will always be vital aspects of environmentalism. But they are only aspects. In the end, the value of mainstream organizations will be measured by how effectively they work with grassroots environmentalists (…) (Dowie, 1996:173).

Such a development is especially interesting in the face of a "global" issue such as climate change, where such a "hybrid" approach would make it possible for the environmental movement to utilize both professional and grassroots participation. As the climate change issue rises on the agenda, and continues its gradual path from (or parallel to) international summits to concrete national and municipal policy the environmental movement's

impact will rely on whether these cognitive regimes are aligned, or possibly how they collide.

While new organizations have and will crop up, the existing environmental movement has started to pick up the torch. This process is likely to change the environmental movement (the old dog), as well as, possibly, the way the climate issue is conceptualized (the trick). The object of my study is in that sense both the organizations and the issue, and how they interact, adapt to each other and creates new spheres of environmental opposition. *To narrow down my inquiry, I have chosen to focus on how established environmental movement organizations engage members and local chapters in climate change-related activism.*

2.0 Method

2.1 Choice of cases

To explore my research question, I needed an organization that is involved with climate change, and includes grassroots activities. Preferably an organization with a long history, which may embody the different "cognitive regimes" of the environmental movement. As I wanted to look at a Norwegian organization, I chose the Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature (Norges Naturvernforbund, or NNV from now on), which fills all criteria. To broaden my scope, I wanted to include another, similar organization. My choice was the The Danish Society for Nature Conservation (Danmarks Naturfredningsforening DN from now on), which shares several attributes with the Norwegian counterpart. The two conservation societies were founded only years apart (1911 and 1914), and share a very similar organizational structure.

Variation is a key reason why I chose Denmark over Sweden, which also has a very similar organization to NNV. Denmark is both very similar, and very different from Norway. As I want to look at how climate change can be made local, I wanted to look at organizations operating in different forms of environmental surroundings. Denmark is small, densely

populated and flat, while Norway is large, sparsely populated and mountainous. In addition, I saw it as a strength that the Danish party-political system is much more similar to the Norwegian, without a strong green party, as Sweden has. This makes the political context of the organizations I study more similar. The Danish and Norwegian Conservation Society offered variety that might allow me to observe broader trends, while being highly comparable.

The organizations are representative because they are the largest environmental organizations within each country. They are both examples of a specific type of environmental organization that exists in several other countries. As such, they are representatives of larger phenomena (King et.al 1994:10). My findings may be relevant to similar organizations of this nature, through "qualified generalization" (Andersen 1997:16). The organizations are comparable because they are similar enough to warrant comparison, while being different enough not to render comparison superfluous. When it comes to case selection, comparison is most fruitful where there is variation in both circumstances and outcomes.

There are some clear differences between the two organizations: Danish Conservation Society is more than six times bigger in terms of membership. In addition, NNV is more radical, as it is part of the "Friends of the Earth" network. As such, it may be closer politically to the Danish member of the Friends of the Earth network – NOAH. However, NOAH is a second-wave organization, founded in 1969. It has a different, less hierarchical structure than NNV and has not gone through the same transformations as DN. The latter is a fellow first-wave organization founded on the same principle as its Norwegian Conservation Society. NOAH also fills a slightly different niche, not encompassing the same span of activities as the two Conservation Societies do. As I will return to below, the difference in number of local chapters and activists is much lower than the number of members may suggest.

A fourth reason is ease of access. Both organizations have showed interest in my study, and have been very accommodating, volunteering information, allowing me to visit internal meetings, giving me tips on where to find more information, and answering my requests, both on the central and local level.

2.2 Approaching the organizations

There are different ways of studying environmental movements comparatively. O'Neill (2012) outlines three main threads of comparative environmental movement literature:

1) Studies of the history, emergence, and varieties of environmental movements around e action, and their broad trajectories over time.
2) Examinations of the movements themselves: the variables that explain their organizational form, their choice of tactics, their scope, their targets, and specific trajectories of movements and movement organizations.
3) The actual impacts of environmental movements: goal attainment, effect on policy outcomes and possible contribution to broader political and societal transformations (O'Neill 2012: pos 2853-2859). All these topics can be illuminated by cross-national or comparative studies.

As I study an ongoing process within my chosen environmental organizations, my study will neither fit the first or third thread, though an examination of the movements will of course also include historical perspectives. Of the three approaches, this thesis will be closest to O'Neills second thread. However, I will limit my inquiry to single organizations, ant not entire movements.

This can be studied in many ways. We may construct general theories, and test them against a narrowly defined operationalization that may or may not yield results. This presupposes that we have a strong understanding of the way these movements operate. This may not presently be the case. In a general review of theoretically driven classifications of environmental

movements, Yearley (2005) argues that none of them have succeeded to capture the essence of environmentalism. “Only an essentially descriptive definition of ‘social movements’ is acceptable” (Yearley 2005:15). I have chosen to follow this lead, studying, describing and exploring my two cases empirically to better understand the recent interaction between established environmental movement organizations and a new and complex issue.

Choosing a case study method makes it easier to understand the complexity and unique characteristics of the two organizations (Ragin 1987:3). I wish to understand the casual effects of differences I have uncovered in how members are activated in climate change, and what causes conflict and inertia in this process, and look at how the climate issue may be changing the organization. Yin (1994) defines the case study as “an empirical exploration of a collection of phenomena in its natural context, where the division between the phenomenon and the context is unclear”. Case studies can be used to answer “how and why”-questions (Yin 1994:20). My question relates to how the environmental movement can facilitate climate action. In the study, I will describe relevant aspects of the historical and political context of the organizations, and the internal workings of the organization, to be able to explain the variations in the two organization’s ability to engage members in climate issues.

The comparative components of study is based on the “difference method” where the similarity between the cases can be discarded as an explanation for their differences. (Moses & Knutsen 2007:97-98) Comparative studies between Scandinavian countries have been described in the literature on comparative politics as especially fitting examples of the use of the “most similar systems” design (Lijphart 1971:689). As my case study is not based on dichotomous variables, the method is not employed exactly as Mill prescribes. In practice, I will include comparison where it may strengthen the understanding of the two different cases. It is especially fruitful to uncover whether certain characteristics or developments are

common or unique to the organizations I am studying. While I still base my study on the logic of the difference method, where the similarities in organizational history, structure and political framework makes it easier to sort out the explanatory factors that best explains the differences in my findings.

A comparative perspective has much to offer environmental studies. Different countries largely struggle with the same problems in different political contexts, whether it is preservation of wilderness and biodiversity, pollution or climate change. In a broad sense, the environmental problems that plague modern societies can be seen as global independent variables that affects a large amount of countries and organizational structures. This is readily apparent in the structure of environmental organizations that share a curious mixture of local focus and global awareness. Tactics, ideas and strategies have long diffused across national borders (O'Neill 2012: pos 3134).

To uncover interesting information by comparing organizations across borders involve two major analytical tasks: appreciate the inherent complexity of the subject, and use theoretical tools to make sense of it (Steinberg & Vanderveer 2012 pos 252-255). As detailed above, I have included a pluralistic theoretical framework to make sense of different aspects of my findings. While this study includes comparison, it is still more exploratory than comparative. I want to explore common and unique conditions for climate activism in the two countries. Instead of choosing a few, select variables to compare within the two organizations; I have aimed to get a breadth of information. Still, within my two case studies, I have chosen to focus on some factors that lend themselves best to a comparative perspective, mainly the local activist's perception of the issue, and their self-image as activists and local experts.

2.3 Primary sources

I have chosen several sources to gather information about the two organizations, with a focus on interviews with the actors themselves. I

interviewed 40 people altogether, 16 in Denmark and 24 in Norway. Among my secondary sources are studies of the organizations. I have also looked at internal documents and report, and on the organization's web pages. Using several sources of data to study the same phenomenon strengthens the validity of my data (Jick 1979:603).

At the central office, I conducted longer (about one-hour) interviews with the president, the organizational secretary and the head climate advisor in both organizations, as well as members of the leadership or secretariat who worked with projects relevant to climate work. All in all, I interviewed six people at the central office in NNV, and five in DN. Two of the latter were interviewed over the phone.

I chose not to include a survey, after doing preliminary research on the organizations. I performed the interviews with central leaders in NNV early on, including their leader, second in command, former general secretary, secretary of organization and head climate advisor. In addition, I made an early informal phone call to the general secretary of DN. I was advised that it would be hard to gather replies on written surveys to all local chapters (about 100 in each country). I also discovered that such a general survey would also easily miss its mark, simply because the number of local chapters working with climate change was relatively small. For a large part of the responders, the questions would seem irrelevant or based on wrong assumptions. This made me worry that a general survey, possibly with a low response rate, would give me a non-representative or shallow view of the local activist's ideas and activities.

My compromise was to call representatives on the regional level, which had an overview of the activities of chapters. In Norway, each region has its own "regional chapter", with members that are also members of local chapters in municipalities. In Denmark, local leaders gather in regional coordinating councils, which also has its own leadership. In other words, the respondents could answer for both their own local chapter and other chapters in the region. I one representative in each of the 18 regions in

Norway one in each of the 10 regional councils in Denmark, and conducted medium-length (20 to 60 minute) interviews based on a set of relatively open-ended questions, formulated both on the basis my theoretical framework and my interviews with the central actors. Not all of the questions yielded answers that I found use for in this text, but I have listed the questions in the appendix.

The choice of regional representation comes at the cost of representation of the total member mass, as the regions are not evenly populated. I chose this form of representatively because there are large differences between the regions, especially in Norway. To avoid a large imbalance, I have at times given more weight to responses from leaders from the bigger regions.

In addition, I talked to local activists with an especial interest in climate change, based on my interviews with the central leadership and secretariat. In Norway, this included the regional manager in Hordaland, and the leader of the Kristiansand chapter in Norway. These activists are also both part of the regional leadership, so I also interviewed them about the region in general. In Denmark, I travelled to a meeting of DN's "Climate Network", a platform where leaders from different local chapters with a special interest in climate change convene and share experiences and educate themselves further. I observed and recorded their meeting, as well as conducting a 1.5-hour interview with their leader. I also attended and recorded a meeting of the National Board in the Norwegian Conservation Society, where climate change was on the agenda. This meeting mainly consisted of people I had already interviewed over the phone.

As the organizations are democratic, and open to internal disagreement, I did not see it necessary to make the respondents anonymous. In several cases, it would have been impossible, as the positions of different actors in the organizations are already well known. I e-mailed longer quotes to the respondents, to make sure that I had understood their answers correctly,

and that they were comfortable about having it in print. This did not lead to any significant changes in the quotes.

Interviewing the regional leader, especially climate-conscious local activists and representatives of the central leadership and secretariat, provided a certain balance between depth and breadth of information. The regional leaders could give answers in their own words, and I was able to clear up possible misunderstandings in the way the questions were formulated. This also made it possible to adjust my questions so that the answers became more precise. In some cases, the interviews led me to contact new people, to get a better understanding of disagreements or internal discussions. This was the case for the Mejlflak controversy. As I was done with many of the interviews at an early stage, I was able to access more relevant information, a method that can strengthen studies where the researchers have a limited amount of previous knowledge (Tjora 2010:91).

The word "activist" is used frequently in this study. When I asked the local activists about the level of local activity, I defined it as being active at least once a month in activities connected to the organization's goals. Many of these hold positions at the local levels, usually as members of the board of the local chapter. Environmental activism can be many things. It can be directed towards specific issues or general topics; it can be done through lobbyism, through informing the public, through petitions, protests or symbolic demonstrations. It can also take the form of activities such as excursions or practical work such as garbage collection or charting of local biological diversity. When asking members about their "activity" on the climate field, I asked them to include any such measures. My interview questions have been informed by the study of effectiveness of local activism in the American Sierra Club, by Ganz et al (2004).

In some chapters, I will go deeper into singular conflicts or discussions that offer especially good examples of different aspects of the organization's local climate work.

2.4 Theoretical perspectives

This study is mainly empirically based, and several of the key questions are derived from my findings, as much as from existing studies. In this kind of study, it is hard to draw a clear line between the theory and the material at hand. As Yearley (2005) argues:

> "There is (…) no single criterion allowing us to explain which pressure groups can be associated with a large-scale social movement and which cannot; the reasons for mass participation have to be analyzed on a case-by-case basis" (Yearley 2005:15).

In line with this, I have seen it necessary to apply a flexible approach, including several theoretical perspectives on my material. The different perspectives I employ have informed my questions during the explorations, defined the boundaries of my discussion, and aided my analysis. I have explored several of these approaches during my research, as my findings pointed me in new directions. In other words, I have tried to find theoretical approaches that may fit different parts of my study, and which may increase my understanding, or provide a framework for my discussions.

As climate change is still a relatively new political issue, the vast majority of comparative studies have been written before the issue became central on the environmental movement's agenda. Several books on climate activism take the form of guides for future climate action (Isham & Waage 2007, Monbiot 2007). Case studies of climate campaigns have been made on the movement level within countries, such as Hall and Taplin (2007), who look at the climate strategies of seven Australian environmental organizations, and North (2011) who charts forms of local climate activism in the UK.

Still, studies of similar environmental organizations have been of great use to understand the general changes in the environmental movement the past decades. When discussing how these trends have affected climate change activism, I will use studies of the general development of the organizations

away from local activism and grassroots activities, such as Dryzek et al (2003), Bortne et al (2002) Rootes, (1999) , Læssøe (2007, 2008) and Jamison (1991, 2001, 2006).

To analyze the activist's perception of climate change, I have included literature that help to interpret how the local activists "see" climate change. This exploration will depart from previous studies of how environmental problems have been "made visible", and seen by local activists and pressure groups, and how local lay knowledge and perspectives has conflicted with "expert" knowledge in environmental conflicts. This is partly based on similar case studies, such as Syse (2001, 2010) and Asdal (2011), as well of discussions of the effects of "globalizing" discourses, explored by Yearley (2005) and Tsing (2005). Here, I have also drawn on Bortne et al (2002), who have charted "unique" traits of the Norwegian environmental ideology.

In the latter part of my study, I will go deeper into a discussion of environmental activism as knowledge production, drawing on Jamison and Eyerman (1991) who have charted environmental movements and their modes of "cognitive praxis". This involves a look at a relationship that has long languished in the blind spot of several theoretical approaches to social phenomena. Classical paradigms such resource mobilization theory and new social movements theory have largely ignored the relationship between movements and scientific knowledge. Meanwhile, studies of science, technology and society has largely ignored the role of movement (Jamison 2006:46). In the last part of my analysis, I will focus on how the local activist's role as local experts can create tensions, conflict or traction when approaching the new issue. I will look see these tensions in light of Jamison's categorizations of "cognitive regimes" in the environmental movement. Here, I will also draw on Yearley's (2005) study of British environmental movement organizations, and their relationship to science.

2.5 Methodical challenges

Using only two cases and looking at a number of explanations makes it harder to generalize my findings. However, I believe a better understanding of these two cases, both their similarities and differences, may be of use in several other, similar cases. Of especial interest are the experiences and evaluations local activists present when discussing climate work. As I have argued, climate change policy is still predominantly a top-down affair, and continued "localization" may be easier through the use of this kind of case study. My main goal is to understand my cases, and the study is as such not a systematic attempt to disprove or develop theories. Instead of falsifying or verifying different explanations, I am using established literature to aid my interpretation, and identify important casual factors.

A central question is whether the explanations I put forward, based on the interviews and secondary literature, is necessary and sufficient. An explanation is necessary if it must be present to explain an outcome, and sufficient if it alone can explain an outcome. (Ragin 1989: 100) To the latter end, my study may fall short. The complexity and interplay, of the different explanatory factors, which I aim to uncover, makes it hard to find any sufficient explanations. However, the comparison may uncover necessary explanations within the two cases, both among those who are shared, and those who are unique (Ragin, 1989:25).

The political context is important to understand several of my findings. To account for this, I have studied the two organization's history, and accounts of the history of the two countries' environmental movements, as well as previous case studies and comparative studies of the organizations and/or the environmental movements they are part of. Based on this research, I have pointed out important differences in the organization's historical and political context when these are apparent and relevant to understand certain differences, but I run the risk of missing important contextual differences.

By aiming for complexity, I do, to a certain degree, forfeit my ability to accurately check for other variables. There might very well be other explanations than those I focus on which may explain why the organizations are struggling with the involvement and recruitment of local activists in their climate work. The links between the different causes are complex within both organizations, and this makes it difficult to separate the different variables, which is a reason for choosing the case study method. In addition, comparison between the two cases makes it easier to identify developments or issues that are caused by underlying tensions based on cultural, geographical or political factors.

Using interviews opens up several possibilities for several practical and methodological challenges. First, the phone interviews made the interviews less personal, and may have made it harder for several of the responders to understand my questions. However, I took care in repeating or clarifying when the answers seemed to be based on misunderstandings. Secondly, there was a slight language barrier with some Danish responders. I tried to counteract this by asking again if the answers seemed to miss the mark, or were unusually short. Thirdly, the responders may have understood my questions differently, and thus given slightly different answers.

While most of the questions were relatively open, some of them might have been leading. The most loaded question I included, was whether the local activists saw climate change as something that conflicted with other issues the local activists worked with. My previous knowledge, research and early interviews with the central level indicated that this was a problem, and I saw it as important to chart how prevalent such notions were. Most activists readily answered this, and all were aware that such conflict existed in the organizations. Still, this question might have caused some of the interviews to be more focused on conflict than if I had omitted this question. To make sure this did not color the whole interview, I asked

other, more general questions first. In practice, most of the activists that saw the issue as problematic mentioned this before I asked about it.

Another challenge is that critical voices may be "louder" in my material. Local leaders who are critical to the climate change policy conducted by the central level are often more engaged, and have provided we with longer and more impassioned answers than many of those who were "on the fence" or positive to the issue and the organization's work. On the one hand, this may skew my study to be more focused on these answers. I have tried to counteract this by summarizing my findings in tables, codifying central answers to display the actual distribution local assessments. On the central level, I may also have chosen quotes that are more "interesting" – favoring those who point to differences or conflict within the organizations. This may create an impression that the differences are larger than they are. I have made an effort to avoid too "tabloid" quotes, and include modifying paragraphs or clauses. Still, I run the risk of amplifying certain quotes that may create a skewed image of the organizations. On the other hand, the instances of conflict are interesting finds, and may offer more information about central problems the organization faces.

There is an imbalance in my data between the two organizations. This is a comparison between Norway and Denmark, conducted by a Norwegian, and it is almost inevitable that this will affect the study. I have a background in the Norwegian environmental movement through the youth organization of NNV, and therefore had more previous knowledge about the Norwegian case than the Danish one. In addition, I chose to interview more people in NNV than in the Danish counterpart. DN has 10 regions, while Norway has 18 (two of the 19 Norwegian regions are combined in the Conservation Society's structure), and there is more variance between the Norwegian regions. This made it necessary to call more local leaders in Norway. Thus, I have a broader set of answers from the Norwegian organization. Still, I believe the combination of my ten interviews and my

talks with local activists during the meeting of the climate network has given me sufficient information about local activist's point of view in the Danish case. With limited time and resources, I have settled for this imbalance.

2.6 On my own role

As mentioned, I have a background in the Norwegian environmental movement. From 2002 to 2010, I held different positions in Nature and Youth, the youth organization to NNV. I also performed my mandatory civil service in the environmental organization Bellona. I therefore run the risk that some of the informants knew about me from my previous involvement in the movement. One of my sources in Norway, Ingeborg Gjærum, was the leader of Nature and Youth during my work in the organization, and is a personal acquaintance. During my research, I applied for a job in NNV, and was hired in December of 2012, with an agreement to begin as soon as the thesis was completed. It is worth noting that the organization have expressed genuine interest in my findings, and expressed that critical comments are welcome. In addition, all the interviews but three was finished at the point of my employment and these were at the local level. Only one of the three remaining local leaders in Norway knew of the recruitment.

My closeness to the central level in the Norwegian case has both negative and positive effects. On the one hand, my previous knowledge, both as a local activist and an employee at the central level has given me insight into the workings of the organizations. It has made it easier to gain access, and in some cases easier to get the respondents talking. The informants trusted me, and readily gave me new information. Having some previous knowledge about the practical workings of the organizations has aided the interviews, and made it easier to discern different stances and interpret the responses. However, it may also have given me blinders, and made it harder to analyze my findings objectively. A greater distance to the topic could also have been a strength during some of the interviews, giving me a

clearer role as a researcher. I have done my best to remain impartial and evaluate the organization through the eyes of a researcher, but it was hard to ensure that the interviews themselves were not impacted. This applies only to the interviews with the central actor in NNV, as I did not know any of the local representatives beforehand.

My interest in the topic of this study was largely based my own background. This has affected my choice of research question, and also impacted where I have looked for answers, and what presumptions I had when approaching my sources. This can both be a weakness and a strength.

3.0 The organizations

Before delving deeper into the material, I want to give a summary of the organization's structure, core policy, climate policy, and current economic priorities. This is an important backdrop to the following discussion. As we will see, the organizations are very similar, but their core goals, their structure, and the way they involve members in climate change, differ slightly. A large and active member mass is seen as very important in both organizations, but their current structure and priorities suggests that the climate issue has so far not strengthened this goal.

First, we should take a brief look at the long histories of the two organizations. Traditions, alliances and experiences shape their strategy, and is an important background for their current approach to climate change.

3.1 DN - a gentle giant [3]

Amicable relations to the government characterize the history Danish Society for the Conservation of Nature, but the organization has taken a more confrontational turn the past three decades. The organization was founded in 1911. It was, from its conception, more oriented towards nature

[3] Information primarily based on the The Danish Society for Conservation of nature 2011 - Web database

as a recreative and cultural resource than it's Norwegian counterpart, advocating conservation for the people, not just for its own sake. (Jamison et al. 1990:74). The membership largely consisted of "artists, clerks, owners of large estates and academics". In 1928, the organization established a committee of natural science, to strengthen DN's scientific approach to nature preservation. The membership base also expanded, as the organization became national in 1925. Local chapters were established all over the country, and the membership base increased from around 3.000 to 10.000 people. DN's work was from an early age incorporated in public policy through channels of public participation. For example, several recreational areas around Copenhagen were preserved in 1936, by a public commission where Conservation Society was represented. In 1937, a new nature preservation law included a clause which granted DN the right of suggesting public preservation projects in all of Denmark, a right which has not been granted in any other country, and which is still in effect. Between 1940 and 1970, efforts to increase employment and farmable area, often through the building of dams, caused large losses of nature in the form of fjords, lakes, marshes, watersheds, fields and other kinds of unfarmed land. This made the organization's role more important in keeping these developments in check.

In 1959, the independent youth organization Natur og Ungdom was founded. The youth organization has played a less important role than its Norwegian counterpart has. The 60s also saw a change in strategy, towards more radical, ideological stances. The Conservation Society's platform was developed towards a larger focus on environmental and societal issues. The mid 60s saw an increased effort to enlighten the populace in environmental matters. Lectures, study circles, films, appearances on TV and the radio were among the tools for the new "information committee". In 1963, the organization championed a referendum to curb property rights to ease conservation efforts. The referendum was a crushing defeat, and the organization turned towards a

much more conciliatory attitude, ushering in new, more radical grassroots-based organizations on the "green fringe", most notably NOAH in 1969, and the Organization for Renewable Energy in 1975. (Jamison et al. 1990:75)

The shift toward broader environmental concerns was made explicit in a letter to the members in 1971, where the leader wrote that "the preservation efforts today include all our natural resources: air, water and earth". A pollution committee was established in DN, three years before Denmark established a ministry of the environment, in 1974. The same year, Denmark joined the EU, something that was seen as a positive development DN as the EU has contributed to an increase in natural preservation efforts through directives. DN also started arranging outings, where members could experience nature together, and even established a travel agency for trips to foreign countries. From 70s onward, the organization increased their recruitment efforts, using telephone recruiters.

DN started cooperating with other green organizations in 1983, through the "Green contact committee", which consists of 14 member-based organizations. In 1984, there was a change in leadership. The new leadership launched new, offensive measures to increase the public awareness of not only nature preservation, but also broader environmental issues. The media became a more important channel of influence. In 1985, the term "Nature recovery" was launched. A national effort towards nature recovery was approved the same year. The organization could boast of 225000 members at their 75 year-anniversary in 1986, around 5 percent of the total population.

In the 1980s, DN became more radical. The organization engaged itself in broader environmental problems, and the relationship towards both industry and agriculture turned from cool to outright antagonistic. Climate change became more important in the 90s, especially with the Sustainability Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The organization also

broadened their program for popular enlightenment. A school service was also established in 1998.

The generally amicable relationship with the national government cooled in the early 2000s, after the right-wing Fough Rasmussen administration took power, the Conservation Society lost the yearly financial support from the government, around 1, 2 million DKK. The right to propose public nature preservation projects was also disputed, but the proposal to remove this right was later pulled. A new way of activating members was developed through the yearly waste collection efforts which were pioneered by the local chapter on Vinderup in 2003, and have been arranged on a national basis since 2005. In 2010, 80.000 volunteers participated in the clean-up.

DN have not been part of large political battles over climate change-related issues. The organization has been part of the "92 group" – an umbrella organization working with climate change amongst other issues, and the organization has since 1992 also had "Local Agenda 21"-network, where climate is among the issues the members may work with. But the issue didn't rise to the top of the agenda until 2006. According to current climate advisor Jens La Cour, the climate strategy was mainly based on lobbyism. In 2007, a climate network was established between the local chapters, and the same year, the Conservation Society started a campaign to pledge Danish Municipalities to become "Climate Municipalities". The UNFCCC summit in Copenhagen in 2009 (COP 15) became a rallying point for climate change awareness for the Danish environmental movement, and the Conservation Society took part in arranging the large demonstration which accompanied the meeting.

3.2 NNV – part of a tumultuous movement [4]

NNV's history is marked by a higher level of conflict than the Danish counterpart, and much of their activity has been tied to broad movement mobilization against Norway's energy sector. The first 50 years, NNV

[4] This overview is mainly based on Berntsen (2011), other sources are cited.

could be called a somewhat closed gentleman's club, mainly concerned with issues of classical natural preservation. NNV was less concerned with access to nature than the Danish counterpart. This is likely tied to the fact that recreational uses of nature is addressed by the powerful Norwegian Trekking Organization, which has 240 000 members.[5] The "competition" with this organization may also partly explain the lower number of members in NNV. The organization was founded in 1914, as an offshoot of the Norwegian Geographical Society. The organization was founded to "inspire and maintain the people's preference and interest for preserving the country's nature, and collect the work to this end under a common leadership. During the first decades, the organization had a weak economy and small membership base. The organization was poorly received both among business owners, unions and among public officials. The organization established a new, wider conception of nature preservation at their national summit in 1936, pointing out that the "Nature preservation is done on ethical, scientific, economic and social grounds".

After the war, the organization quickly regained influence through corporative channels. In 1947, the Conservation Society joined a new committee to draft a new law on nature preservation. The 60s marked a shift in the organization. Landsforbundet (as it was called), had only a thousand members and five local chapters. Still, the organization was involved in most issues of nature preservation. In 1962, at an extraordinary yearly summit, the Conservation Society renewed their founding rules, and changed into their current name. Eight local chapters were attending the following national summit, and the organization adopted a wider conception of nature and nature preservation, referring to the "great web of nature". NNV grew in membership. The member magazine Norsk Natur was published in 1965.[6] The more action-oriented independent youth organization Nature and Youth (Natur og Ungdom) was officially created in 1967, and experienced a large increase in membership from 1971. The

[5] Den Norske Turistforning, Yearly Report 2011
[6] The Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature 2012 (a) Web page

new member-based organization “The Future in Our Hands” reached widespread support, championing a more fundamental criticism of modern industrialized society.

The 70s has been called the Norwegian “green decade”. The Conservation Society was not a radical organization, but became more critical to the government through the 70s, especially on the issues of oil spills, acid rain and the development of hydro power in the Norwegian mountains. The battle for the Mardøla waterfall in 1970 has been identified as a watershed moment, where large popular support was mustered against a controversial hydro project. A new organization under the name of “the coordination group for the protection of nature and the environment” (SNM, now defunct), was established in 1969. The protests included several local inhabitants without strong connections to the broader environmental movement. NNV did not support the civil disobedience employed by (SNM), but supported the cause. The pattern from Mardøla, where looser coalitions are formed to include several interests (local, sectoral, ideological) under the same banner, is apparent in several of the large political struggles of the Norwegian environmental movement.

A major conduit for new countercultural ideas were the successful populist mobilization against EU membership leading into the 1972 election, but NNV did not take an active stance. On the question of membership in the International Energy Agency (IEA), NNV was clear in their opposition. The issue raised strong popular support. The Conservation Society lobbied for an increased governmental acknowledgement of nature and resource preservation as an overriding concern in society, with its own ministry. The Ministry of the Environment was established in 1972. While strengthening the cause of environmental protection, it did not include some of the more radical ideas of a “national resource budget”, which had been part of the discussion. The Conservation Society also warned against the dangers of global warming as early as 1976. The final large struggle of the Norwegian “green decade” was the fight over the Alta River in the

north of Norway in 1979-80. Here as well as the previous struggles, a general action group was formed. The People's Action applied the use of civil disobedience from 1979. The Conservation Society stuck to judicial means. The protests and the legal battle were ultimately unsuccessful. In the following years, NNV saw their membership dwindle, and maintained their work against hydro power through lobbyism.

The blossoming oil industry also attracted the attention of the environmental movement in the late seventies and early eighties. The first large oil spill, on the Ekofisk oil field in 1977 increased their concerns. Despite large efforts to mobilize protests, the environmental movement was defeated in their struggle against oil exploration north of the 62nd parallel. After the defeats against Alta and the oil industry, followed a downturn in membership for the organizatoin.

The tides turned again in the second half of the 80s, connected to the increased awareness of new, global environmental issues such as climate change, global loss of biodiversity, the hole in the Ozone layer, the Chernobyl disaster and acid rain. Several of the new, increasingly global environmental concerns were voiced in the 1987 "Brundtland Report". The Conservation Society was growing again, and the new organization Bellona was established, as a more activism-oriented offshoot of Natur og Ungdom, mainly working against industrial pollution. The new wave of environmental consciousness had a marked effect on the 1989 elections. The Conservation Society also attended the Rio conference in 1992, at the massive NGO-based "Global forum". The organization reached a popular peak in 1991, with 40.000 members.

During the 90s, climate change became an increasingly important issue for the Norwegian environmental movement. One conduit for this engagement was the battle against methane-powered power stations in the late 90s. During the last decade, gas power and oil drilling has been some of the most contentious climate-related issues on the environmental movement's agenda. The non-member based, environmental NGO Zero was founded as

another offshoot of Nature and Youth in 2002, and has mainly focused on climate issues. The Conservation Society has played an important part, through "People's actions" and through their own work. The issue rose to the top of the agenda around 2004, according to the president Lars Haltbrekken. Two important national policies has since successfully been championed by the Conservation Society: the "climate deal" between all the political parties except the populist right party, initiated in 2007, and the government's ongoing efforts to co-sponsor rain forest preservation in developing countries. (Reinertsen & Asdal 2010:45)

According to both former managing director Jan-Thomas Odegard and present organizational secretary Steinar Alsos, the organization has stood on shaky economic grounds the past decades. In 1997, the organization was near bankruptcy, and almost going bankrupt. In 2007, the organization also struggled with the finances, and the economic troubles hampered the organization's work for several years, but mainly at the central level. Alsos argued that this had reduced the organization's ability to catch the wave of popular sentiment over climate issues in this period.

3.3 Structure

The focus of this study is the organization's grassroots activities in climate change. I will here provide a short review of the organization's democratic structure, and which channels of activity the organizations offer their members. Members are involved in the organization's work in two ways: directly, as part of local or national activism, and indirectly through democratic channels, which gives them a say in the organizations' policies and priorities.

DN has around 135 000 members, 1600 volunteers and 65 employees. The non-active members are sometimes called "supporting members". The work of the organization is done through 98 local chapters, ten regional "coordinating councils, networks, student chapters, the "board of representatives", the commission, scientific committees and the secretariat. The youth organization "Nature and Youth" has about 1000 members, and

are fully independent from DN. The combination of a strong central office and a strong local presence is an important part of the organization's identity.

> Without the local chapters, we would lose our grounding, and our political legitimacy towards the government. Without the central office, we would be 98 isolated local groups with a limited influence locally, and no influence nationally (…) this is the nerve and the soul of the Conservation Society, our organizational trump card [7]

DN has a strongly democratic structure. The organization prioritize their work through a yearly "activity plan", decided on through a democratic process, and decided in the board of representatives, with members from all chapters. The national work is mainly based on lobbying the government. Local chapters represent all members, passive and active, in their municipality. All chapters have a board. The size of the board is determined by the amount of members. These boards are elected for one or three year terms. The "local activists" include the local chapter boards, supplemental board members and other active members involved in local work groups. While "active members" previously pledged to be active for three years or more, this category has become more flexible. People who want to participate in one-off activities such as garbage collection in natural habitats, are called "volunteers", but the terms are used interchangeably. None of these one-off actions has so far concerned climate change.

The networks are loose national coalitions of active members from different chapters who share a special interest in one issue. The ten regional councils consists of local leaders and board members who participate within the region, and coordinate the local work, arrange seminars, appoint the organization's representatives to regional councils and commissions. The Student chapters are regional congregations of

[7] Peter Mellergaard (a)

active student members. The Board of Representatives is the highest authority in the organization. It gathers about 240 representatives from the local chapters, fifteen personal members, 10 representatives from the student boards and five representatives from networks, and the members of the commission. The commission (forrætningsudvalget) has 11 members, including a president and vice president. They are elected by the board of representatives and constitute the political leadership. The scientific commissions are chosen by the commission, and consist of people with special expertise on key issues. They give advice to the sencretariat and political leaderhip. The Secretariat are the paid members, who perform most of the practical work of the organization at the national level.[8] DN is in the process of reviewing their democratic structure.

NNV is smaller in size, and does not have a complete coverage of Norway's municipalities. The organization has about 20 000 members. The members are important, and described as the "backbone of the organization". [9] The work of the organization is done through around 100 local and regional chapters, the board of representatives (national board), the central board, scientific councils and a secretariat. Some local chapters cover more than one of Norway's 428 municipalities. The regional chapters cover issues relating to the Norwegian regional governmental level "fylke". There are 18 regional chapters, and 19 governmental regions, as there is one regional chapter covering the regions Oslo and Akershus. The national board includes one representative from every regional chapter, the central board, two representatives from Nature and Youth, one representatives from the children's organization "Miljøagentene", one from the secretariat and one from the Rain Forest Fund.[10] The latter is one of two separate organizations which was created on the initiative of the Conservation Society: "Green living", which is an umbrella organization promoting environmentalism in households and the

[8] Peter Melergaard (a)
[9] Based on The Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature 2012 (b) Web resource
[10] This and the rest of this paragraph is based on The Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature 2012 (c) Founding clauses.

Rain Forest Fund, which works with rain forest and development projects abroad. Both are primarily funded by the government. None of these organizations have their own member base

The central board consists of the leader and second in command, as well as three representatives elected by the Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting consists of the national board, representatives from the local and regional chapters, Nature and Youth and Miljøagentene. The local chapters and the independent youth organization Nature and Youth are proportionally represented according to size. The members of the Nature and Youth (around 7000), are also counted as "youth members", but not counted as ordinary members in the Conservation Society. In addition, companies, organizations and institutions can become «supporting members». Both organizations allow individuals, organizations, companies and institutions as members, though only "personal members" are allowed positions in the organization. The Yearly Meeting decide upon the «work program», which outline the policy and priorities for all levels of the organization. While this program is meant to ensure democratic control over the central level, the secretariat and central leadership has at times been lackadaisical in following the program, according to former managing director Jan-Thomas Odegard. The past years, the democratic structure has been strengthened.

As we can see, members are involved in the organization's work both directly and indirectly. The direct involvement mainly happens in local chapters, regional chapters and, in the Danish case, the networks. In this thesis, I will focus on direct involvement in climate change, and not on the indirect involvement in the central level's work through democratic structures.

3.4 Core goals

The two organizations have slightly different core goals. The main documents of both organizations are their «founding clauses», where the purpose and rules of the organizations are formulated. The Norwegian

Society for the Conservation of Nature lines up an ambitious goal in its first point, the purpose of the organization.

> [NNV] will work for nature preservation and for securing the living environment so that human activity will not surpass nature's limits. [NNV] will work for a society where humankind lives in harmony with nature. This is a society where the conditions and diversity of life is secured for future generations, and where the intrinsic value of nature is the basis for the work for increasing human respect for, and love to, life and landscape.[11]

The Danish Conservation Society's purpose is similar, but slightly different. The first "overarching and long-term goal" is that "Denmark becomes a sustainable society with a beautiful and varied landscape, a rich and diverse nature, and a clean and healthy environment". The organization is more oriented towards nature as an area of recreation. The "public access to good experiences in nature" is mentioned as the second main goal. Further main goals and objectives are outlined briefly under the headings "Nature preservation", "Environmental preservation", "Planning", "Access to nature", "Legislation" and "Enlightenment".[12]

As we can see, both organizations have broad goals, including the general sustainability of their respective countries. DN is more concerned with recreational use of nature than the Norwegian Counterpart.

3.5 Conceptualization of climate change

Here, I will briefly account for how the two organizations frame climate change, and how they approach the issue in their official documents. The two organizations have both ramped up their climate change-related activity the past years. However, according to the president Ella-Maria Bisschop-Larsen and her colleagues at the central office, DN has been more hesitant to the issue, and does not prioritize the issue as much as the Norwegian counterpart. A look at the two organization's activity plans

[11] The Norwegian Society the Conservation of Nature (2011) Activity plan
[12] The Danish Society for Nature Conservation (2012 a) Founding Clauses

also show that the organizations include the issues in slightly different ways. In DN, climate activism is mainly seen as an extension of existing work to preserve nature for nature's and people's sake. In NNV, international solidarity is given more emphasis, and climate change is connected to global justice and human welfare.

DN's activity plan for 2013 states in an introductory paragraph that climate change is among the most important challenges for nature and the environment in the coming years, along with excessive fertilization, chemical pollutants, 'fragmentation and lack of care' [of wild nature], unrestrained use of resources, and the pressure on nature and landscape. Their main efforts on climate change are concentrated on climate adaptation, lobbyism towards the national government and a national campaign that pledges Danish Municipalities to reduce the climate emissions from municipal activities. The two latter are in the organization's activity plan for 2013 sorted under "national" work. Only the climate adaptation work sorts under "local" activities. On their web pages, which includes its own section on climate change, DN only mentions the potential damage to nature. "Climate change is an enormous challenge for nature in Denmark, and in the rest of the world". Under the slogan "strengthen the climate locally", the organization underlines that this is an issue that should be solved locally, both as a means of mitigation and adaptation.[13]

> "In DN, we believe that the climate problems should be handled locally, to give Danish nature the best circumstances – and at the same time reduce the global climate challenges".[14]

The organization has outlined the means to this end in two comprehensive reports, one on climate adaptation, and the other on energy, focusing on

[13] The Danish Society for Nature Conservation (2013) Activity plan
[14] Ibid.

the need of making Danish energy production 100 % renewable within 2040, while minimizing the destruction of nature. [15]

NNV includes climate change as one of their three central issues in the period 2012/2013, along with organization building and nature preservation. While the Danish counterpart makes nature the main goal of climate activism, NNV frame this as a complementary goal, arguing for "showing the connection between climate emissions in the energy- and transport sector and the preservation of biodiversity". The activity plan includes extensive points on climate change, including national, international and local efforts. [16] On the organization's web pages, the effects on international biodiversity is mentioned along with the effects on people in developing countries. "[within 2020] 200 million Africans are very likely to lack water" (The Norwegian Conservation Society, 2013) The organization wants to reduce climate emissions in Norway by 40 percent from 1990-levels within 2020, and towards zero in 2050. Three central means is to restrict the oil industry's explorations in vulnerable areas, reducing energy consumption, and stopping the development of highways. [17]

The Conservation Society is more internationally oriented, with a heavy emphasis on Norway's role in the UNFCCC process. The organization has had one representative in the Norwegian Delegation at all major meetings the past four years. They have launched three recent reports, one translation of Friends of the Earth's "Climate Gambling", published in 2011, one on international climate negotiations, also 2011, and one on green energy and climate-friendly industry, in 2010. In addition, the organization spends large efforts combatting oil drilling through the "People's Action For an Oil-Free Lofoten, Vesterålen and Senja".

As we can see, the Norwegian organization is at first glance more heavily involved in climate change than the Danish counterpart, and includes a

[15] The Danish Society for Nature Conservation (2009, 2010) Reports
[16] The Norwegian Society the Conservation of Nature (2011) activity plan
[17] The Norwegian Society the Conservation of Nature (2012 d) Web resource

more international and anthropocentric assessment of the issue. The Danish organization puts a stronger emphasis on local activity. This impression may be impacted by the differences in size. The Danish organization is six times larger in terms of members, and spans a larger amount of issues. As mentioned above, NNV has also largely "outsourced" certain areas of their work, most notably environmentalism on the home front and through consumption, in the external organization "Green living".

3.6 Budgetary priorities

While the framing of the issue is important, it tells us little of how important or extensive the issue really is to the organizations. A better indicator is the organizations' budgetary priorities. Here, I will have included key numbers relating to local climate change work. The sums are presented in the nation's currencies, which are at the time of writing approximately equal in value. Both are based on the organization's most recent yearly reports[18].

	Norway (NOK)	*Denmark (DKK)*
Total expenses	46000000	76000000
Funds from members	4 377 532 (~10 %)	63 976 000 (~84 %)
Funds from government	29 668 234 (~64% of total income)	5 055 000[19] (~6% of total income)
Funds for climate work	10 334 732	1 073 000

There are very big differences in the amount of money the organizations spend on climate work. NNV spends nearly ten times more money on climate work at the central level than their Danish counterpart does. Almost a fourth of their budget goes to this issue alone. DN spent

[18] The Norwegian Society the Conservation of Nature (2012 e) Yearly Report 2011, The Danish Society for Nature Conservation (2012 b) Yearly Report 2011

[19] Project based, the organization does not receive general financial support.

only slightly above one million, less than a seventh of their budget. Of these funds, 516 000 went to the "climate municipality" project, and 557 000 went to general climate lobbyism. In Norway, climate change takes up much more of the organization's funding, and most of these funds are spent at the central level.

As we can see, the two organizations vary greatly in the way they accrue funding. While the Danish organization receive almost all their funding directly from their member mass, the Norwegian counterpart relies heavily on government funds. In general, the governmental funding increases the Norwegian organization's economic muscle relative to their Danish counterpart. While DN is roughly 6.6 times larger than NNV in terms of member mass, their budget is only 40 percent larger. It is important to note that the Norwegian government's funding is partly calculated based on member size, and the number of regional and local chapters. The organization received about 7.3 million in general support from the Ministry of the Environment in 2012, based on these criteria.[20] Even if we count this as member-based funding, the Norwegian organization gains a lower portion of their funding from members.

It would be hard to get any of my respondents to gauge how important members and local activity really is for the organization. The central level is obliged to say that the local chapters and local activity is important, and local representatives obviously see themselves as important for the organization. Again, the numbers are a good indication.

[20] The Norwegian Ministry of the Environment , (2012)

	Norway (NOK)	*Denmark (DKK)*
Funds for local work	2 800 000 (~6% of total expenses)	7 400 000 (~10% of total expenses)
Members	20 118	133 118
Local chapters	100	98
Activists	608-705[21]	1600
Funds per local chapter	28000	75510
Funds per activist	3971	4625

As we can see, DN has a much smaller ratio of local chapters and activists to members than Norway. This can be explained by the organization's economical and political context:

Members are important for the organizations for at least three reasons: their local activism helps fulfill the organization's goal, a large amount of members strengthens the legitimacy of the organization, and they provide the organizations with funds through paying a yearly membership fee. DN receive 84 % of their funds from membership fees. This makes recruitment crucial, but the level of activity is less important. The organization employs a staff of telephone recruiters who calls all Danish households on a regular interval.

In the Norwegian case, the government gives more money to organizations that have internal democracy and a local presence. These incentives have affected the strategy of NNV, where there have been "a tendency to show some cynicism in choice of organizational form, simply to increase government support" (Bortne et al. 2002:119-120). In other words, the funding gives incentives to increase internal democracy and local presence. This form of funding makes activation of members (through maintaining local chapters, at the very least) more financially important to

[21] based on local leader's assessments

NNV. Still, the organization spend fewer resources on membership activation than work on the central level, and less resources per activist than its Danish counterpart does. Unlike DN, NNV does not employ professional recruiters. Members and staff recruit new people on a voluntary basis.

A larger portion of the Danish organization's funds are directed towards the local level. These numbers are hard to calculate, as much of the secretariat's funds in both organizations goes to following up local work. We also see that DN spend more money on local work per activist and local chapters. It is worth noting that several of the Norwegian local and regional chapters receive direct funding for activities from the government, through several channels. For example, the Buskerud chapter receives funds for local environmental work from the Norwegian regional government. Erling Solvang in Nordland, Steinar Nygard in Sør-Trøndelag and Torleif Jakobsen in Sogn og Fjordane also pointed out that they get assistance from regional government-funded coordinating councils.

The Norwegian organization also have more active members as measured as a portion of the total membership. The Norwegian tally of activists may be more generous than the Danish one. The former is based on the local leader's assessment of how many members that are active at least monthly with the local chapter's work, which they were asked for during my interviews. The latter is based on official accounts of the leadership in the local chapters, which I was referred to when I asked Danish local leaders about the number of local activists in their region. Still, the Danish tally is also supposed to include members that are active without holding local positions in the organization. If these numbers are correct, DN seems to spend more money per activist, both in total and as a portion of their budget, indicating that the organization is less "top-heavy" and centralized than the Norwegian counterpart.

The policy frameworks of the two countries, which springs out of the geographical and economic differences between Norway and Denmark,

may explain this difference. Denmark has, since the 70s, been an outlier among the Nordic countries, by favoring a decentralized environmental policy framework, where municipalities were responsible for issuing permits and inspecting and controlling local pollution. This is tied to the country's economic composition as an agricultural, densely populated country with mostly small to middle-sized industries. In Norway, which is sparsely populated and harbors a strong oil sector, the central administration was more dominant until the late 80s, and still has more centralized features than the Danish administration (Joas 1999:144-150) (Andersen 1997:261).

Here, I have shown and compared key aspects of the organizations, and their core activity. We have seen that the organizations have different membership, but are more similar when it comes to number of activists and available resources. We have also seen that the Norwegian Conservation Society is much stronger involved with climate change. But political goals, principles, and budgetary numbers does not tell us enough, especially in organizations based on voluntary effort. Local activists may do more or less activism than the numbers suggest. In a broad study of the American Sierra Club, Marshall Ganz argues that the development of local leadership and facilitations of local activities is one of the most important factors explaining organizational effectiveness. "The principal determinant of public influence is not what the organization has in terms of resources or context, but instead what the organization does with what it has" (Ganz, et al 2006:1).

4.0 The central level's vision of climate change

One venue of climate activism are campaigns or programs initiated by the central level, which includes local chapters or members. Here, I will look at how the central level assess the engagement of local activists, and what kind of programs or campaigns that have been initiated, related to climate change. Their structure, and the form of activism they offer, is an

important indication of what kind of activism the adoption of climate change mitigation and adaptation has engendered in the organization.

4.1 Local climate activity as an unpopular product

The central level in both organizations see themselves as important facilitators of local action, and in some cases describe activities as a "product" that they can provide their members with. This is in line with previous observations about the Norwegian civil society. The relation between organization and members has been described as having "clear parallels to the elusive connection between consumer and producer in a market". This entails a break between politics at the local and the national level, between the individual and the political system (NOU 2003: 23-24). My interviews with leaders at the central level supported this description.

The Danish example is most striking. During a visit in the central offices in Masnøegade in Copenhagen, I was waiting in a meeting room for an interview. Along the walls hung small posters where the secretariat had written up statements about the organization's strategy. Two of the statements concerned the role of their members, and pointed to an idea of members as "consumers" of climate action. I have preserved the phrasing and use of parentheses.

> Our organization lack a home for active members that does not want to be part of the leadership of a local chapter. (or network!?)", "DNs members are extremely wise – our products should be differentiated

The members are seen as highly competent people, but also as a form of customers, buying "products" which should ideally be "differentiated". This may entail offering new forms of activity besides participation in the leadership of local chapters and networks. The statement about local chapters and networks points to a perceived weakening of the traditional organizational structure. The members are wise, but there is a challenge in giving them activities ("products") that they want to be part of ("buy").

The feeling that members are largely uninterested in their current products is a source of frustration. Among some members of the central secretariat, the conclusion was that production should stop, and climate change be prioritized less. The organizational secretary Nick Leyssac was not optimistic:

> Personally, I think that this [climate change] is one of the issues that we should not have prioritized as much as we've done. I am probably opposed to what Jens (La Cour) says. Of course it's something that is in the focus of the general public, but I think that our organization would be better off focusing on some other core issues. Because it takes focus from all the other tasks. But that is one of the prices that you pay when you broaden your perspective, not just change, but broaden. The consequence is more staff, but also less focus on the single issues.

A main reason for this line of thinking was that the climate issue could not be worked with locally as effectively as traditional issues of nature preservation.

> Whenever we do work with an issue, we should think "what is the local angle on this?" and "what are the logical activities?". One of the problems on climate work is that the local activities, the 'hands on' that you and I can do, are so...it must be a top-down change. The bottom-up activities is...I haven't seen many examples in our organizations.

Leyssac did not see any obvious ways of activating the members on climate change

> When I go to a local chapter and say 'you should work with climate change, you should do this and this and that', I can't see the engaging activity that will bring in a lot of new volunteers.

According to Leyssac, the transformation of DN to an actor in climate policy was akin to "teaching an old dog new tricks".

In Norway, the organizational secretary and the climate advisor both argued along similar lines. In the view of the secretariat, the main reason for the relative lack of local involvement on climate-related issues is that they simply do not engage the local chapters. This has a large effect, as local autonomy is seen as important.

The Secretariat of NNV also saw it as difficult to involve their members in climate work. When they sent out "packets" of flyers, questions for politicians or similar joint actions, the response was meager, according to the leader of the climate division, Holger Schaupitz. "We have to accept that 95 percent does nothing, but it's very nice to hear from the five percent that do something". One exception was a national action where local chapters were asked to light bonfires to mark opposition to the opening the Arctic areas of Lofoten, Vesterålen and Senja for oil exploration. This climate-related action was joined by several local chapters. Still, the climate section saw it as difficult to involve local activists.

Another source of frustration was the difficulties of mobilizing opposition to Norway's powerful oil industry. While the organization reached many with their campaign against oil drilling in the 1970s, the issue has since been sidetracked until relatively recently. According to former managing director Jan Thomas Odegard, it is hard even to start discussing oil among the grassroots of the organization. "The whole country is intoxicated by oil". He pointed out that even radical organizations such as Natur og Ungdom find it necessary to publicly recognize service to the economic benefits of the oil. "Directly opposing our most important industry is a non-starter." For the newer members of central leadership, such as vice president Ingeborg Gjærum, raising awareness and increasing activity on the issue of oil was paramount.

While the environmental movement has increased their efforts against oil drilling, the efforts were far from satisfying.

> (…) Norwegian environmentalists, what a bunch of weaklings! I mean...we earn our living of shit (...) and we just quietly accept…how is that possible? Why isn't there a war, you know, about how this country should earn a living?

As we can see, the central office is frustrated with the level of activism at the local level, especially when it comes to climate change-related issues. Their relationship to the organization's members seem to be in tune with Jamisons (2001) categorization of the dominant cognitive regime of sustainable development, sometimes labelled as "ecological modernization". Within this dominant regime: "Participation is mainly conceived as top-down, with members of the public with the role of environmentally conscious consumer, or offered opportunities for ecological employment" (Jamison 2001:179). This points forward to a central question concerning the issue at hand. Why are the organizations struggling to create and "sell" new "products" in forms of climate-related activities, and why do they not produce activities on their own?

4.2 Denmark: Climate Municipalities

To explore this question, I have chosen to focus on two of the most important climate-related programs in the two countries. In DN, the "Climate municipality"-project represents a relatively top-down effort to include members. According to project coordinator Jens La Cour, this project was initiated by the central secretariat in 2006. They lobbied the political leadership to initiate a lobbying campaign. A stated goal was to utilize the 96 local chapter, to "do something that other organizations don't do". This meant forgoing other options, such as giving climate advice to citizens, which several other actors were already doing, including the government. According to La Cour, the secretariat was wary of "forcing" any program onto the local chapters, figuring that this would soon be a

fiasco, because the local chapters will not be dictated. They therefore chose to present the climate municipality program as an "option".

The secretariat and the president of the organization contact the local municipalities, and create a deal with them, where the municipality pledges to cut their emissions by two percent a year until 2020. This places the program "more in a tradition of governance and planning than in activism and voluntarism", according to La Cour. The deals only concern the emission from the municipality's own activities (that is, not the private sector within the municipality). The idea was to create vertical integration, by pledging the mayor and involving the local chapters of the organization. According to La Cour, the project was also aimed at creating horizontal integration, by encouraging the municipalities to include all parts of its activities in their climate strategy. The project has been a success, with 75 out of 98 municipalities pledging to cut emissions so far.

However, the project has not been very successful in activating the member mass. Few of the local leader I talked to had taken an active part in the project beyond the initiating phase. This usually meant encouraging their local municipality to join. Five of the local leaders saw the project as the responsibility of the central level, and they had not taken an active part beyond encouraging their local municipality to join the campaign. Two of the chapters did not feel that they had adequate resources to follow it up, but wanted to participate more actively. Some, like Michael Løvendal Kruse, regional leader in Storstrøm, was unsure if it would yield big results. "I won't comment on whether they do anything in between the nice ceremonies with our president and the mayor drinking wine (laughs)".

Jens La Cour admitted that the project was less successful in engaging local chapters and activists than in achieving policy goals. In his view, the local chapters played a relatively marginal role, even if the project could, in theory, make great use of the fact that all local municipalities has a chapter with activists from the organization. La Cour did not think that local activists have the expertise to follow up on the work, and see the

campaign as mainly a cooperation between the local government and the central level of the organization. Still, some effort was being made to gather information about successful communal efforts, which may be disseminated to other municipalities by the local activists, according to La Cour.

4.3 Norway: The people's action

The People's Action for an Oil Free Lofoten, Vesterålen and Senja (the People's Action from now on) is not purely a climate-related campaign, neither is it an internal campaign. However, it should be mentioned, as it is an important source of climate-related activism within NNV. As we have seen, the dominant oil industry is a focal point for the leadership of the Conservation Society. The oil industry has increased their activity, and the issue of oil drilling outside of Lofoten, Vesterålen and Senja has been a divisive issue within the highest echelons of Norwegian politics. The current red-green coalition government is split on the issue. The issue concerns both local wildlife, natural beauty, tourism and fish stocks, as well as climate change. The People's Action is a central channel of mobilization and activism in the environmental movement.

As we have seen, "people's actions" have played an important role in the Norwegian environmental movement. People's actions are ad-hoc organizations, often designed to include as many organizations as possible in a broad coalition against singular issues. These actions sometimes with have their own members and democratic structure. NNV has traditionally maintained strong ties to these actions. Both the leader and the second in command in the Conservation Society have been central to the establishment of two of the most successful People's movements on climate issues: The current president Lars Haltbrekken, then leader of the Conservation Society's youth organization Nature and Youth, was the leader of the people's movement against gas powered plants in the late 90s. The current vice president Ingeborg Gjærum, then leader of Nature

and Youth, co-founded the current People's action for an oil-free Lofoten, Vesterålen and Senja.

According to Gjærum, the organization has also kept an active role in running the organization. The Conservation Society spend large resources on administrating the action's member lists. However, organization is obscuring their own involvement in the people's action, among other things out of fear that they may not engage enough people on their own. She argued that the case of Lofoten and Vesterålen was described as "a little bit extreme", as far as people's actions go, as the Conservation Society is especially closely involved in its operations.

There were three important reasons for preferring this model. Former managing director Jan Thomas Odegard pointed to increased short-time mobilization potential, and the ability to cooperate with other organizations. In terms of efficiency, the protest form increased awareness of the issue, and made it stick out from the other issues of the organization. In terms of efficiency, all sources agreed that the battle for Lofoten and Vesterålen (which is still ongoing) would have failed already without the use of the "people's action model.

The actions lowered the barriers of entry for people who are not members of any established organizations, who wanted to get involved in the issue, especially in the local population. A perceived benefit was that the local population would not be deterred by other, more contentious stances, such as the Conservation Society's defense for the local wolf population. As organizational Secretary Steinar Alsos argued:

> People can be prejudiced against organizations. They think we are only interested in wolves, and do not see us as a platform to work with oil-related issues. Supporting an organization requires more conviction than supporting one of our core issues.

The participation of other organizations also increased the scope of the protests, especially large, influential organizations such as the Church and the biggest labor union LO. The other organizations were involved as equal partners. While the participating organizations were of unequal size, they saw it as important to "share" the issue equally among the participants, according to former managing director Jan Thomas Odegard.

> One of the first things I did in NNV was to enter the coalition of organizations which got behind the people's action [against oil drilling in Lofoten and Vesterålen]. It was almost like a stand-off, where each organization promised not to "run away with the issue"

The people's actions are all-out efforts, and has often come at the expense of long-term mobilization; according to Jan Thomas Odegard. "The great dilemma is that the issue comes in the way of the organization". This pattern is visible in the organization's history. After the ultimately unsuccessful Alta protests, the Conservation Society and the environmental movement in general saw a strong downturn in membership (Berntsen, 2011: pp. 249-255). According to the president Lars Haltbrekken, this form of work is still the most effective on singular issues, but may be part of the explanation for the low amount of members in the environmental movement in Norway compared to the rest of Scandinavia.

The people' actions do not engage many local activists within the organization. One might expect that the three regions in the north, where the larges battle against the oil industry had been fought, would see a rise in membership and activity, but this did not seem to be the case. Interviews with Gunnar Reinholtsen, Erling Solvang and Ragnhild Sandøy from the nearby regions of Finnmark, Nordland and Troms showed that the local participation was relatively low, even though many of the members were also members of the people's action. According to Jan

Thomas Odegard, former general manager of NNV, it has been hard to establish local chapters based on the work against the oil industry.

It might seem strange that such short-term mobilizations should harm the organizations that take part of it. The president Lars Haltbrekken explained this as a result of poor strategy.

> (…) what the environmental organizations have been poor at is to cooperate with them, and reap the rewards afterwards, through new members et cetera.

This has led to some second thoughts about the strategy. The vice president, Ingeborg Gjærum, was one of the founders of the people's action for an oil-free Lofoten, Vesterålen and Senja. In her interview, she expressed frustration about how many environmentally conscious people did not see the Conservation Society as a natural channel of involvement, even though they were engaged in issues the Conservation Society works with. "I wish more people thought 'I care about this issue, let's join the Conservation Society".

Not only did the people's actions not engage new members, it drained resources from the local chapters. Jan Thomas Odegard acknowledged that these temporary organizations were "draining a lot of local resources". Erling Solvang, local leader in Nordland, the region of Lofoten and Vesterålen, confirmed this, noting that local members had become "worn out" by their involvement in people's actions.

These two programs are very different, but they share some important qualilties. Both forms of action involves a certain trade-off between organizational and political goals. So far, the trade-off seems to be politically effective. Lofoten, Vesterålen and Senja is still not open to oil drilling, and the Climate Municipality project has been successful in getting over three quarters of Denmark's municipalities to cut their emissions voluntarily. But they do little to strengthen mobilization and local activity. In the Norwegian case, the People's action has strained the

local level, and possibly weakened the organization's ability to recruit and engage members through their established organizational structure. In Denmark, the local activists are largely superfluous in the process, beyond the initiating phase. As we will see in the next chapter, the local activists are struggling to engage climate issues.

5.0 Local apprehension towards climate change

The most important venue for local climate action is the established structure of local and regional chapters. These chapters have all been formed before the climate issue became important for the organizations. Their work with climate change is channeled through new forms of activity, or as a "reconceptualization" of existing issues. Here, I will provide a "snapshot" of current activity within the local and regional chapters, to see how much of the organizations' increased focus on climate change has resonated in their local chapters. In Table 1 and 2, I have summarized the answers on four key question that I asked all the local leaders during my interviews with them, regarding their involvement in, and assessment of climate change, in Norway and Denmark respectively.

5.1 Norwegian local chapters – autonomous and critical

Table 1: Overview of climate work in local chapters, NNV.

	Does local chapters in your region work with issues related to climate change?	Does climate change-related issues conflict with other issues you work with.	How many activists in your region?	Is climate change important for the organizati on?	Are chapters important in the work against climate change?
Oslo og Akershus	No.	Yes, strongly critical to central policy.	260	Yes.	In principle, but we are critical.

Buskerud	Yes, mainly local climate plans.	No, but worried about future wind plans.	20-30	yes	Yes.
Nord-Trøndelag	Some, mainly letters to the editor.	Not locally, but critical to central policy.	30-40	yes	Yes.
Telemark	Some, mainly transportation.	No, but critical to central policy.	>20	yes	Yes
Aust-Agder	No.	Yes, especially wind power.	Low activity.	yes	Yes.
Vest-Agder	Yes, through several projects.	No, but some internal disputes over wind power.	30-40	yes	Yes, very.
Rogaland	Some, mainly transportation.	Yes, especially wind power.	40	yes	No.
Hordaland	Yes, through several projects.	No.	80	yes	Yes, very.
Sogn og Fjordane	Some, mainly transportation.	No, but some internal disputes over wind power.	Two active chapters. >10	yes	Yes.
Hedmark	Some, mainly communal climate	Yes, esp. wind power and hydro plants.	>10	yes	Yes.

	plans.				
Sør-Trøndelag	Yes, through several projects.	Yes, especially on wind power.	40-50	yes	Yes., Very.
Vestfold	Yes, mainly local zoning policy.	No.	>20	yes	Yes, very.
Nordland	Some, mainly related to local industry.	Yes, esp. wind and hydropower, and tree planting.	>10	yes	Needs more resources.
Troms	Some, mainly oil drilling.	Yes, very critical to wind power and central policy.	15-20	yes	Needs more resources.
Finnmark	Some, mainly oil drilling.	Yes, esp. wind power, power lines, and central policy.	~5	yes	Needs more resources.
Oppland	Some, mainly energy conservation.	No, but critical to energy development projects.	20-40	yes	Yes.
Møre og Romsdal	Yes, especially on energy conservation and gas power plants.	No, but slightly critical to some energy development projects	~10	yes	Yes, but varies over time.
Østfold	Yes,	Yes, especially	~10	yes	In principle,

	especially on transportation.	wind power.			but not so far.
Total	7 yes, 9 maybe, 2 no.	9 yes, 9 no	608-705	All yes	12 yes 5 maybe 1 no

As we can see, all local leaders saw climate change as important. A clear majority also see the local chapters as an important part of the climate struggle. Nine of the leader report that there is local conflict over climate change-related issues, and seven more reported climate-related disagreement or discontent.

The main cause of conflict was local power development. In three cases, the discontent was tied to a general criticism of the central level's policies. Seven local chapters reported that they were working actively with climate change, and nine more reported that they were doing some climate-related activism. This was often tied to existing issues where climate change was part of the argument, such as road development. These are interesting results: the local chapters are in favor of climate change activism in general, and see themselves as important parts of this effort, but are only to a limited degree working with climate change-related issues. In addition, there is much conflict and disagreement over climate change issues.

5.2 Danish local chapters – unsure about their own role

Table 2: Overview of climate work in local chapters, DN.

Denmark				
	Does local chapters in your region work with climate-related issues?	6) Does climate change-related issues conflict with other issues you work with.	Is climate change important for the organization?	Are local chapters important In climate work?
Vestjylland	Yes, many projects, mainly "klimakommuner"	Yes, mixed experiences with windmills.	yes	Yes.
Fyn	Some, mainly klimakommuner.	No, but thinks nature conservation is more important.	yes	No, central level most important.
Roskilde	Yes, mainly transportation.	Yes, mainly windmills.	yes	Yes.
Nordjylland	Yes, klimakommuner and adaptation, and against plans for fracking of gas.	No.	yes	Yes.
Nordsjælland	Some, mainly klimakommuner.	Yes, especially windmills.	yes	Yes, but central level most important.
Vestsjælland	Some, mainly klimakommuner.	No.	yes	Not really, more of a "global" issue.
Storstrøm	Some, mainly klimakommuner.	Yes, especially windmills.	yes	No, only if concrete

				issues appear locally.
Østjylland	Some, mainly klimakommuner, some on adaptation.	No. Positive towards windmills.	yes	Yes.
Storkøbenhavn	No.	Yes, especially windmills.	no	Not really.
Sydjylland	No.	Yes, especially windmills.	Yes.	Yes.
Total	3 yes, 5 some, 2 no.	6 yes, 4 no	9 yes 1 no	6 yes 4 no

The responses from Denmark showed, at first glance, larger concerns for the climate. All but two respondents in Denmark reported working with climate change in some form or another. However, most of them referred to the "climate municipality" project. I differed the responses between those who were actively involved in this and other forms of local climate activity, and those who had only been involved in the project in the initiating phases, and did not actively follow it up or work with other climate-related issues (described as having done "some" activism). Only one local chapter did not see climate change as important for the organization, but four of the responders did not see local chapters as important in the organization's climate change work. A larger portion of the responders than in Norway. Six of the responders reported that the climate issue caused conflict locally, and all of them reported windmill projects as the main cause.

This overview gives us some insight into the current local work with - and assessment of - climate change. As we can see, a large portion of local leaders in both organizations are involved with climate change. The issue is contentious in both countries. In Denmark, a larger portion of the respondents argued that the issue was not "local", but rather something the national level should engage in. On the whole, the local level seems more split and apprehensive of the climate issue than their leaders and the

professional secretariat at the central office, at least in Norway, where the central level spends a large part of the budget on climate change-related issues. But the overview does not give us a good approximation of how strongly held these opinions are, or what arguments they are based on. In the following chapters, I will go deeper into the answers.

5.3 Horizontal cooperation on the local level

The local chapters also coordinate their climate work through less hierarchical structures. I have chosen to look at two of the clearest examples of "horizontal cooperation", which share several similarities. Both rely largely on a network structure, where information and ideas are shared between local issues. The first is the "climate network", found in Denmark, the second is the "oil free"-campaign, found in Norway. The latter also share similarities with the "Climate Municipalities" program, as it is focused on a single, quantifiable goal. Here, I will present the two programs, and how they are currently functioning.

Norway: Oil free

"Oil Free" is a campaign aimed at companies and consumers. The campaign encourages people to install energy-conserving technologies in offices and homes to phase out polluting oil-powered central heating ovens, and offers help in connecting customers to reliable vendors. The initiative was taken on the local level, by the regional leader Nils Tore Skogland in Hordaland in 2006. Skogland saw that there were many good solutions to reduce energy consumptions, but few were systematically employed. One problem was that the market was not adapted to the home market. The market was, in Skoglands eyes, hard to understand for individual consumers. His idea was to create a common effort between the business, the organization and the citizens, to fill the gap between national goals and local efforts on energy preservation. In Skoglands view, this was also a good form of local activism for the organization.

> The Conservation Society had an especially interesting role because we both talked to politicians, had the

> scientific insight and also knew about the practical aspects – some of our members worked with small things, with little political effect, and many worked with large issues without grounding in society. We wanted to combine these things, in such a way that we both helped those who needed a practical solution, and took the lead in those areas where the barriers and solutions for change are

The project has been developed together with municipal government and the private sector. Skogland contacted the business council, the city council in Bergen and private businesses. With project funding from the municipality, the campaign was launched in 2007, with one paid project coordinator. The municipality participated in the campaign directly by mailing all 9000 registered owners of oil heaters in the city, recommending them to change to more environmentally friendly alternatives. Since then, the share of emissions of CO_2 in Bergen due to oil heaters has been reduced from 13 percent to 9 percent. The project has received support from the central level of the organization, which has hired a central coordinator to help spread the campaign.

Oil Free offers a new venue of local activism, but requires a large amount of expertise. According to Skogland, the members running the campaign in Bergen are highly educated, including an economist, and an engineer. They operate as a form of consultants, trying to connect businesses with customers. As such, the program has a relatively high barrier of entry for local volunteers who want to participate in climate-related work.

Main benefits of the projects according to local leaders that have adopted it, is that it is practical and to the direct benefit of the local population. After the first stage in Bergen, the project has also been launched in two other major cities, Trondheim, and Kristiansand. The project has been offered, but not taken up, in several regions, mainly because of lack of resources. In Vestfold, the leader Øyvind Johnsen pointed to limited resources and a lack of support from the secretariat. Møre og Romsdal,

the leader Øystein Folden also pointed to the secretariat, saying that they had simply not received any offer or proposal to join the campaign yet. In Rogaland, the program was seen as hard to implement for political reasons. According to local leader Erik Thoring, the reason the strong dominance of the oil sector in the region was to blame:

> We have worked a little bit regionally to establish oljefri.no, but it has shown itself to be slow and difficult work (…) Perhaps not too hard to understand, when we have both legs planted in the oil barrel, Rogaland is an exception in that respect.

Denmark: The climate Network

In Denmark, a "Climate Network" was established in 2007, on the initiative of local activists. The network was initiated as part of the effort to mobilize people in connection to the COP15 summit I 2009, and has since prevailed. As participation is voluntary, and mainly consists of meetings, the number of members is hard to calculate. At the meeting I attended, around 15 people were present. The leader is the veteran environmentalist Christian Bundgaard, who have previously written popular books on ecology and politics in Denmark, and taken part in the development of the environmental policy of the Socialist people's party.

According to organizational secretary Nick Leyssac, the network structure is an established way for local activists to connect with activists in other parts of the country. The networks typically has regular mail contact, and arrange seminars. Networks work with issues such as farming, Agenda 21, sound and light pollution, hunting and urban ecology. Each network has a contact person within the secretariat, which, among other things, attend meetings and relays their ideas to the secretariat. In the view of the secretariat, the networks' main purpose is information sharing and networking, getting to know other individuals in the organization with a special interest in chosen topics.

The self-image of the Network's participants was slightly different. During a discussion among the members of the climate network[22], Palle Marcher argued that the Climate Network should be counted a "political network", along with Agenda 21 and the farming network. This distinction indicate a stronger, more important role than simple information sharing. The leader Christian Bundgaard agreed. In other terms, it wanted to be more of a "bottom-up" channel of influence on the organization's climate policy than simply a horizontal platform for the interchange of ideas.

According to Nick Leyssac, The Networks have been given more power the past five years. The goals were to increase knowledge sharing and, importantly, provide new venues for activism within the organization. In an effort to give the networks a clearer status in the organization, the networks morphed into more coherent bodies, with leadership. This has in turn caused a conflict between some of the networks and the central level. In a preliminary paper prepared for the upcoming reform of the organization's democratic structure, this new form of network structure is described as a failure.

> The experience after five years of formalized networks are predominantly negative. (…) It has not led to increased sharing of knowledge or attracted new activists to a significant degree. On the contrary, it has led to destructive debates and unfruitful struggles for power – this is partly because the networks have been more concerned with changing our policies than inspiring our local activists. Two of the networks also have serious problems with accepting that they cannot lobby external parties autonomously.[23]

According to the president Ella Maria Bisschop-Larsen, the Climate Network was "difficult". One reason for the conflict was that their leader, Christian Bundgaard, had contacted officials (such as the Minister of

[22] This quote is based on my recording of the Network's meeting
[23] Peter Mellergaard, Demokrati - Organisationsudvalgets udredning af foreningsdemokratiet i DN – et debatoplæg, 2012

Climate and Energy) or made statements on behalf of the network. Bisschop-Larsen drew parallels to how a political party operates, and described the network as "not fully governable". One concern was that they would support projects that the organization had protested, especially in the case of wind power projects, which the network has been more positive towards than the mother organization. She argued that the central level is open to disagreements, but demands respect for the organization's policies. The network has been in conflict with the national board as well as the secretariat. Organizational secretary Nick Leyssac argued that: "They are not autonomous, but they are acting autonomously"

The conflict has two important dimensions: the political, and the organizational. Firstly, the networks holds a more pro-environmental stance, in the balance between for instance landscape preservation and CO_2 reductions. To square differences between these issues, the central level see it as important to counterweigh the network's stances with other arguments within the organizations. Following from this, a central complaint about the network was that they performed activism outside of the democratic channels. These two are strongly connected. Because of the need to find difficult compromises between different views among the organization's members, there is little acceptance for those who may rock the boat. As climate advisor Jens La Cour argued:

> [The network] can have what opinions they would like, but the organization has an adopted policy. Our policies have been developed over a long time, in dialogue with our national politicians and with a consultation among our local committees (…). Our local chapters are following these policies and we cannot reverse them just, because twelve people are making a fuss.

The organizational conflict also stems from a certain degree of power struggle within the organizations. In the view of Jens La Cour, the reason for the conflict was that large organizations such as DN would always

attract some very engaged and focused individuals, with their own agenda, who might want to use the organization as a power base. “They can influence others, and then get elected as a local leader or to the national leadership, but these people don’t do that, and then they think they can lead from below, and you can’t.” Christian Bundgaard, the leader of the network conceded that he had joined the network to gain a platform for activism. The Network members argues that they should be given more power. They are especially critical to not being involved in the organization’s scientific committees. The secretariat was critical to the idea of including the networks in this process, arguing that this was the task of the National Board.

During my visit to a meeting in the Climate Network, I was able to hear their side of this conflict, as it was discussed internally. The members spent much of their time discussing the upcoming curbing of their power. This may not be surprising, at the discussion about their autonomy was and is ongoing, until the fall of 2013. A central concern was that the networks would become little more than a mouthpiece for the central level. In the eyes of Thorben Thorsen, of the Climate Network leadership, the secretariat had started to act more as a political actor than an administrative level. “It’s the same organizational structure you’ve found in the political parties, that, that things are streamlined, you know (…) A different culture has appeared.”

The current conflict is to be resolved in the fall of 2013. This new venue of membership involvement has created conflict, and may be restructured to give the central level more control, making the role of the members less important. If the network’s activists are able to impact this process, they may become more integrated in the climate work, increasing member participation in the organization’s climate policy formulation. Currently, the network has positioned themselves as a venue for national climate action for members.

There are similarities between the oil free campaign and the Climate Network. Both increases communication and lets local leaders share their experiences. The regions where local activists had implemented the Oil Free campaign were generally more involved with climate change than those who had not. At the same time, the Oil Free campaign is more focused on concrete action. While the Climate Network has become a contentious entity, the Oil Free campaign has been encouraged by the central level, which now devote resources to supporting the project. One reason might be that the Oil Free campaign has a clear, local goal that would be harder to attain by central actors. The local activists can visit people, arrange shows and demonstrations of the technology, and maintain close contact with local politicians and businesses. Meanwhile, the Climate Network does not have a concrete goal, and have on at least one occasion acted as a "competitor" to the central level, contacting national politicians. In this perspective, the "Oil Free" projects can be seen as a less ambitious version of the "Climate Municipality" project, which fosters more activism, and gives the local leaders more autonomy. It is worth noting that Norway also has a climate network, but according to climate advisor Holger Schaupitz, it has largely been dormant since its conception in 2008.

Climate change – a top-down issue?

How can we sort these different venues of activism? Mainstream environmentalist organizations must strike a balance between internal autonomy and cohesion. While the organizations resent attempts to "govern from below", local activists are volunteers, and cannot be dictated. This sentiment was especially strong in Norway, where organizational secretary Steinar Alsos saw it as hard to facilitate activism from "above". "That's how it has to be: The local chapters are autonomous, and you [the local activists] have to work with what engages you". The organizations may of course expel chapters or activists that do

not follow the democratically agreed-upon policies, but the local work cannot be dictated.

The volunteer efforts are of course also a great strength. Forms of action that increase individual choices and involve them in decisions have been shown to increase people's motivation to engage in an issue. Such motivation, in turn, strengthens all other forms of environmental action (Guin et al, 1998: 647). Within the field of psychology, self-determination theorists such as Deci and Ryan (1987) have argued that events and contexts that support autonomy facilitate activity that is more flexible, entail less tension and creates more positive emotions. These in turn engender a greater level of creativity and conceptual understanding (Deci & Ryan 1987: 1033). This makes it relevant to consider how much autonomy is granted through the different venues of climate activism. Below, I have roughly mapped out the different forms of climate work discussed above. My main indicators are how many of the organization' activists they engage (in other words- not counting passive members), and how much autonomy the activists have in the process.

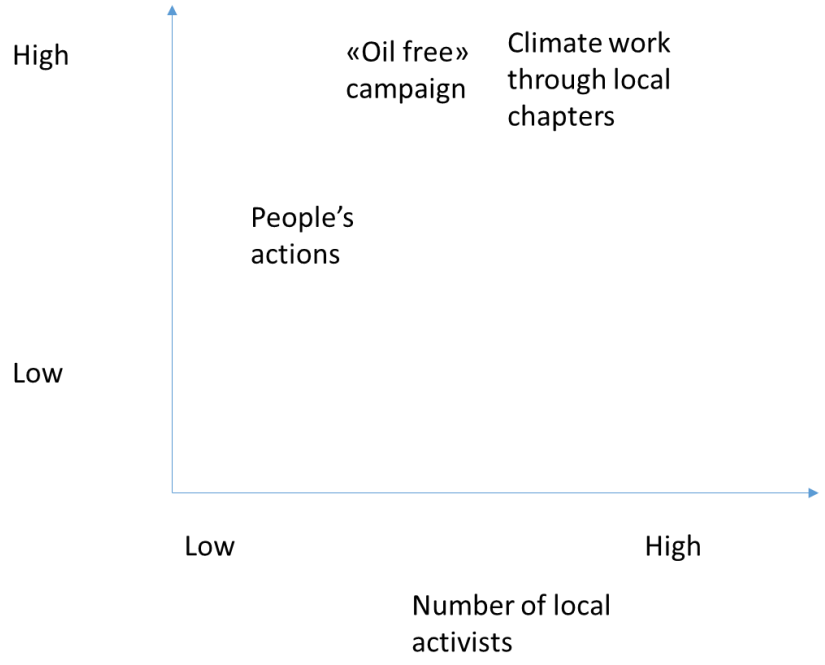


Figure 2: Venues of climate action in NNV (Norway)

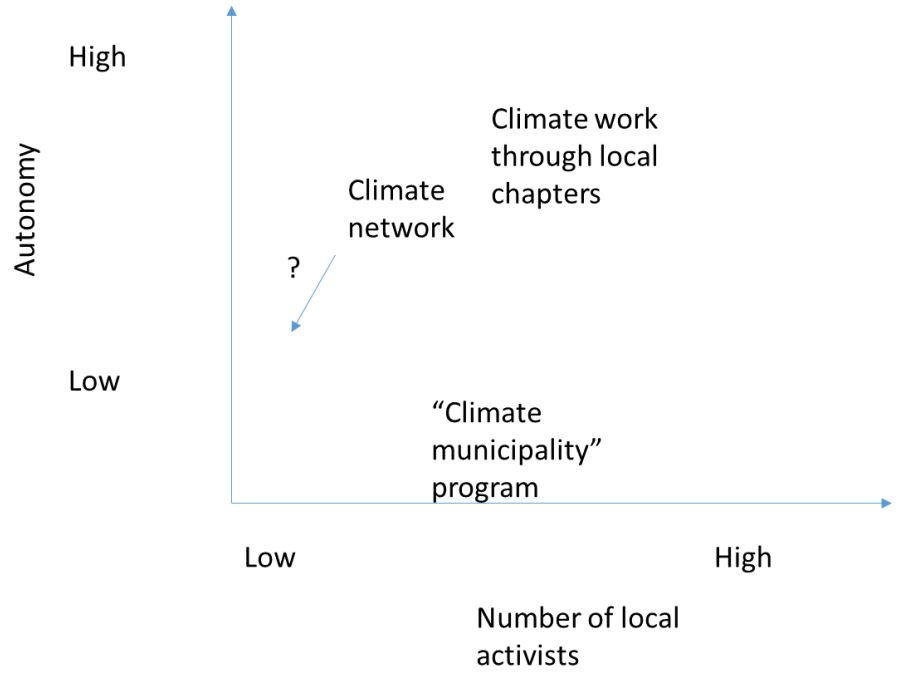


Figure 3: Venues of climate action in DN (Denmark)

As described above, the local chapters generally have less autonomy in Denmark. In both organizations, the other venues of climate action are generally given little autonomy. Only the local chapters remain autonomous, but less so in Denmark than in Norway, as the Danish chapters have to seek funding from the central level for their local activities. Note that I have placed the different venues of activism relative to each other. Even though I have placed "work through local chapters closer to a "high" level of climate activism. This indicates the relative number of activists compared to the other venues, but does not mean that all local chapters are involved in this kind of work.

The two "climate products" available for the activists - the Climate Municipalities project and the People's Actions - share several qualities. Both the Climate Municipalities project and the People's Actions mainly offer activities focused on singular decisions – pledging to cut emissions, and opening or not opening new areas for oil exploration. The top-down

approaches are different in scope and form, but in both organizations, they have had little effect in mobilizing local members. This harmonized with previous research in environmental sociology, which has described top-down approaches to involvement of lay people as largely ineffective. As Læssøe (2008) argues, top-down approaches "do not only ignore the uncertainties of scientific knowledge, they marginalize the experience-based local knowledge of citizens as well" (Læssøe 2008:146).

While the Norwegian People's movement is not truly an internal program, efforts have been made to include local members in the external organization's work, and the organization has been heavily supported by the Conservation Society. The local chapters are not heavily involved, and that the program has at times weakened the local level both by hogging resources and, in some instances, by wearing out members. In Denmark, the Climate Municipality project has also seen meager results in terms of including members. In practice, the program makes the central level of the organization the main actor in the negotiations with local municipalities, and the general public.

The two "horizontal" approaches shows two diverging strategies for including members in climate change work. The Norwegian Oil Free campaign offers a narrow field of action on a concrete issue which increases local involvement in climate change. The program resembles Jamison and Eyerman's (1991) description of a "cognitive praxis", involving members in social action which makes the local environmentalists central actors in combining cosmological and technological knowledge. As the initiator of the project Nils Tore Skogland argued: "We play an important role as an environmental organization, not consultants, not lobbyists. We are the independent source of expertise people need." The leadership of the Danish Climate Network have cast themselves in roles more similar to the central level, and offers few concrete venues of climate action in local chapters. Instead, they try to frame their activities as a bottom-up channel of influence on national

politics. This has created a power struggle between the local activists in the network and the central level, and a wedge between some of the organization's most climate-concerned members and their national leadership.

5.4 Chapter summary

As we have seen, climate change is at the top of the agenda of the central level of the two organizations, but not fully integrated in the organization's local work. New forms of climate work inspires little activism, and take the form of more professionalized advocacy, with the exception of the Oil free-campaign. While there is local activity on the climate issue, may of the activists feel conflicted about climate change, especially when renewable energy production destroys local nature. An early conclusion might be that the organizational secretary of DN is right: the climate issue does not lend itself to local work, and activists should stick to issues that are "local". But this conclusion would be premature. After all, the climate issue is not approached in a vacuum, but disseminated in a structure with existing cracks and fault lines, among activists with established preferences and capacities, and within local contexts. In the following three chapters, I will go deeper into the answers from the local activists, and outline three perspectives that may deepen our understanding of how, and under what circumstances the climate issue can be "made local".

6.0 A turn away from local activism?

All the Norwegian activists argued that it was important for the organization to work with climate change, and all but one thought the local chapter was (12) or could be (5) important in the organization's climate work. In Denmark, nine out of the ten responders thought climate change was important to work for the organization, and six of them saw the local chapters as important. This indicates that a large portion of the members want to work with climate change, and think that this could be done at the local level. However, several factors make climate change activism in the

local chapters difficult. In this, and the following chapters, I will look at three important aspects of this problem: the general development of the organizations away from local activism, the professionalization of the organization at both the local and central level, the contexts in which activists approach the climate issue locally, and the way the organizations' climate policy utilize local expertise, and harmonize climate knowledge with local experiences.

6.1 Professionalization and centralization

Climate change has been approached in a period marked by professionalization and centralization of the environmental movement, which has also been charted in Norway and Denmark. The changing strategies of the environmental movement has transformed the role of members. In studies of both the Danish and Norwegian environmental movement, scholars point to a general trend of centralization and professionalization of the movement, where members become less important (Bortne et al 2002:18). In most fields of political organization in Scandinavia, the organizations started out as member-based, with local chapters. In the environmental field, the development of a strong local presence came much later, in the 60s and 70s (Bortne et al 2002:15). This development is largely seen as a "break" from the populist tradition of the second wave.

Bortne et al. (2002) point to three indicators of this development in the Norwegian context: Environmental organizations have become more hierarchical, the central level of the organizations participate in coalitions with other organizations through "umbrella organizations" and campaigns, and more people have mobilized locally on specific issues without joining national organizations (Bortne et al 2002: pp 130-131). Danish civil society has been described as increasingly individualized. "The social movements that flourished in the 70s and 80s have been weakened, and replaced by less ambitious single-issue organizations" (Togeby 2003:17).

This has been accompanied by an increasingly institutionalized access to decision-making, which is especially prevalent in the Nordic countries (Rootes 1999:155). The same trend has been noted among environmental movement organizations across Europe, especially in the most established organizations. Rootes (1999) notes that "As constructive contacts have developed with more powerful actors, official and corporate, so relations between [environmental movement organizations] and activists have become increasingly problematic" (Rootes 1999:154). The same pattern have been found in similar organizations in both the UK and the US (Dowie 1996) (Dryzek et al 2003). However, the Scandinavian environmental movements are seen as especially marked by this trend, as they have developed strong ties to their governments.

> Organizations neglect their membership, even as a mere source of income (…) and the size of that membership declines. The Nature Conservation Society in particular has become heavily and increasingly dependent on state funding with time. (…) government financial support to environmental organizations has served to 'gradually debilitate the genuinely voluntary' (Dryzek et al. 2003: pos 1419-1420).

The strategy is largely a trade-off between grassroots activity and central efforts through legislation, litigation and lobbyism, as well as media work. The pattern has been found in similar first-wave organizations, such as the Sierra Club in the United States. In his book "Losing Ground", Mark Dowie derided the leadership of the mainstream organization for having,

> (…) developed a self-confident conviction that their strategy – a legislative/litigative initiative focused largely on the federal government – is central to the environmental effort. They see regional grassroots activity (…) as at best helpful, at worst an embarrassing sideshow (…) (Dowie 1996:5)

In European green parties, as in many political organizations, there has been internal conflict between green fundamentalists and more pragmatic "realists" (O'Neill M. 2012: pp. 4169-4171). While the environmental

organizations in Norway and Denmark has not formed themselves into a political party, the dilemma is clear in their choice of strategy. A strong focus on lobbyism implies a pragmatic outlook. This development can be seen in light of the classical theory of the "iron law of oligarchies", described at an early point by Robert Michels in his 1914 study of European socialist parties (Michels 2001).

There are several indicators of this; one is simply the membership numbers. In both Denmark and Norway, the Conservation Societies have seen their membership numbers halve from the early 1990s. In Norway, from 40 000 to a little over 20 000, in Denmark from around 260 000 to around 135 000. Meanwhile, the central level has been stable, and increased in size and importance in both NNV and DN. The issue of climate change in particular has been addressed mainly on the central level, and by non-member based "here and now"-organizations without ordinary members, such as Bellona (1986) and Zero (2002). This is partly because the relationship between organizational strength and political influence has been weakened during the past decades. Smaller organizations gained disproportional levels of political influence. This weakened then emphasis on membership recruitment and socializing (or forming of organizational cohesion). According to Bortne et al. (2002), "The whole role of members are changing" in the environmental field, with the advent of more specialized non-member based organizations, and more cooperation on the central level instead of mobilization and activation of the member base (Bortne et al 2002:130).

While DN does not receive a large part of their funding from the government, similar trends have been noted in the Danish Environmental movement. Læssøe (2007) argues that the professionalization of the Danish environmental NGOs has debilitated the role of local activists. Describing, among others, DN, he argues that:

> This professional turn had serious consequences for the direct Involvement of citizens. Rather than trying to

> empower ordinary citizens to participate, the professional environmental NGOs [have] adopted the role of representative actors on behalf of the people and the environment. (Læssøe 2007:237)

As a result, the mainstream organizations risk undermining their popular base, an important source of legitimacy of the entire movement.

> Many environmental organizations have lost their unique movement character and therefore an important part of their strength. It is doubtful whether their stronger position at some negotiating tables will compensate for this. (Heijden 1997:44)

This is reflected in a large membership with relatively low level of activity. Ghoul Andersen (2004) points out that while an impressive 14 percent of the population in Denmark is part of an environmental organization, only a sixth of these members are active, and even less do volunteer work. In political parties, the level of activity is twice as high (Andersen 2004: 106).

This trend may be stronger in Denmark, as the Danish environmental movement has had stronger ties to Brussels through the Danish membership in the EU. This new arena of political activity has mainly been approached through the established channels of corporatist involvement, and one effect has been that the organizations have strengthened their ties "upwards", to both national and European government (Christiansen & Nørregaard 2003:134).

As we have seen, DN spends as much money on climate lobbyism as they do on the Climate Municipality program. Even more striking is NNV, which spend a quarter of their budget on climate work at the central level. The main benefit of the trade-off between grassroots activism and professional central work is efficiency, but the strategy may also lead to weakened legitimacy. The vice president of NNV, Ingeborg Gjærum was aware of this danger.

> The entire Norwegian environmental movement is roaming the halls of the [parliament], thinking that that

> will give them influence, but we know that the Government, especially the Labor Party, only cares about one thing: what do the people think? We can attend as many meeting as we want to, and get a lot of press as well (...) as long as they don't lose a goddamn vote on the environmental issues, why would they care?

These trends constitute an important context to how the climate issue has been approached. While the current scientific conceptualization of climate change lends itself to a "top-down" approach, the organizations themselves have developed towards being more top-heavy the past decades, due to processes that are not only tied to the issues.

6.2 Internal division

This development can also lead to a division between the local and central level. Bortne et al. notes that such a development would mean an "anglification" of the Scandinavian organizational sector. They define this as a situation where "there is one set of organizations at the local level, and another at the central level. The organizations at the local and the central level will no longer be connected hierarchically" (Bortne et al 2002:131).

Within the organizations I have studied, this pattern is most visible in the case of NNV. According to former organizational secretary Jan Thomas Odegard, the local chapters are almost "allergic" to the ideas from the central level. As we have seen, NNV especially spends a large majority of its climate funds on activities at the central level. Activity on the contentious issue of oil drilling in Lofoten and Vesterålen has been channeled through a "People's Movement" which is both a single-issue organization and a form of umbrella organization, where the central level cooperate with the central level of other organizations. This "umbrella" structure is to a certain degree mirrored at the local level. Leaders in some of the regional chapters in Norway such as Erik Thoring in Rogaland and Bjørn Frøsaker in Oppland pointed out that they work closer with other nature-oriented organizations on the local level, than they do with the

central level or other environmental organizations. Typical partners were the Norwegian Trekking Organization, and the Hunters and Fisher's Organization. Here, the climate issue may also be a driver of this development. In both cases, the cooperation was focused on local opposition to windmill development.

DN has also seen local opposition to windmills. According to climate advisor Jens La Cour, this has made it hard for some of the activists to accept the new climate issue. "For many of our activists, it's almost been like we shouldn't touch [climate change] because (…) if we are for this, we can't be against [the windmills]. However, DNs stronger hierarchical structure seems to have been important in reducing internal disagreement. As climate advisor Jens La Cour argued, local chapters were expected to follow democratically agreed-upon policy, even when the results led to strong protests at the local level.

> We sometimes have to tell our local chapters, 'that resistance, that kneejerk resistance to windmills…' it…they shouldn't protest. Because , I mean, one: they will lose the case, and two: it will make them unpopular and so on.
>
> *And do they accept that?*
>
> Yes, they do. They have to (…) They are to follow the policies we have agreed on in a organizational democratic process. This is no private sect, they are championing the cause of the organization.

In Vestsjælland, the local leader Arne Hastrup argued that local concerns would have to give way to the organization's national policy. "When there is a strategy at the central level, we follow it, we don't argue". Bjørn Petersen in Roskilde pointed out that they would contact the local leaders to ensure that their local work was in line with the organization's policies.

This hierarchical quality affects the way the central level approach local activism, and the freedom the local chapters have to set their own issues on the agenda, but it also reduces the impact of internal struggles. The conflict surrounding the Climate Network stems from their disregard of the organization's democratic, but relatively strong hierarchical structure.

Another indication of this development is the increasing age gap within the organizations, mainly aligned along the central/local axis. As the organization's membership has been halved in the past decades, the core of local activists has remained. Several of the activists I spoke to, such as Gjermund Andersen and Erik Thoring in NNV and Palle Marcher in DN, had been active for decades, and based their involvement in the movement on "older" issues. In Norway, organizational secretary Steinar Alsos pointed to generational differences as an underlying reason for internal differences, especially between the central and the local level.

> There are two very distinct schools in NNV, one is classical nature preservation, which was our starting point. Conserving biodiversity and conserving areas. It's really quite conservative (…). The second school is more radical and has a political involvement which is just as much about justice, and a more global engagement. I belong to that school. (…) That stream is much more radical, and wants to change the societal structure to a larger degree. Sometimes these schools clash when we make policy, and I think the first school is stronger at the local level. Not that there's anything wrong with that, of course.

According to vice president Ingeborg Gjærum, the ideological differences were tied to the organization's history of protesting renewable energy production. "Obviously, if you spent years of your life protesting the Alta [hydro] plant (…) you'll have a problem with cheering on a lot of windmills." However, the leader Lars Haltbrekken did not see generational differences as a clear pattern. "You'd think that the elderly are more critical to windmills, but they aren't. There are also much younger people that are involved".

In Denmark, the central secretariat was worried about the general aging of their local activists. A previous measurement showed that the median age of activists had increased by nine years over a ten-year period, indicating that there was very poor recruitment of younger people. This was especially worrisome because, as organizational secretary Nick Leyssac bluntly put it: "in ten years many of them will be dead". His colleague Jens La Cour blamed this on a weakened interest in organizational work among younger people.

The local activists also saw this as a sign that the organization did not have enough to offer new talent. Kurt Due Johansen, local leader in Fyn, had a recent example.

> We had a young student at our last meeting who wanted to work with climate issues. She was a bit scared off by all the other work we were doing. It's irritating, really. We'd love to work with this, but it's a question of priorities. Wild nature comes first.

Johansen's comment touches upon the challenge of using work forms that may seem outdated, meaningless or boring to younger people.

The prevalent notion in DN - that that this is simply due to a reduced interest in organizational work – was challenged when Danish environmentalists looked to Norway's strong youth movement. Jens La Cour lamented the national differences:

> It's remarkable that you can have an organization in Norway like Nature and Youth which is a popular organization. It is…it is cool to be a member of Nature and Youth. And it's a bit…ah, nature is a bit nerdy in Denmark.

DNs youth organization of the same name is quite small, counting below a thousand members. La Cour envied the Norwegian organization for having such a bountiful base for recruitment of new talents to the secretariat and the central leadership. But it is not just the youth that is eluding the grasp of the organization. According to La Cour, the brunt of the "workforce"

consists of retirees. “We see it [people volunteering] almost not until the children have moved out, or when people have retired.”

However, there were deviances from this pattern. In Fyn, the local leader Kurt Due Johansen also saw an influx of students in the organization from the local university. The students did not seem to reflect generational differences in their view of nature and the environment, but were “interested in different things, some of them care about flowers, some about nature, some about the climate network”. But as in Norway, the students were hard to engage in the organization’s long term work, according to Johansen: “The problem with young people is that they are a bit ‘unfaithful’. They quickly lose interest. When they are done with their studies, they move. As an older man, you’ve got more time, and is more dependable”.

Even though NNV’s strong youth organization was a source of envy in the Danish counterpart, few of the Norwegian local leaders reported any large influx of members from the youth organization. At the central level, however, several of the key members of the secretariat, are recruited from the youth organizations. Both the president and vice president are previous leaders of Nature and Youth. Nature and Youth has traditionally had a more radical stance than the mother organization, and the uneven recruitment of “old” youth members may explain the ideological divide between the central and local level.

6.3 Lack of resources at the local level

We might expect that centralization has affected the local chapter’s capacity to work with issues. The organizations devote more resources to the central level than the local level. However, only a few of the local leaders argued that lack of resources was an important reason for not being able to tackle climate change-related issues. Both were in NNV. In Nordland and Troms, the local leaders Erling Solvang and Ragnhild Sandøy argued that they did not have enough resources to tackle the issue, and that these had not been provided from the central level. Speaking

about the local work in general, Sandøy noted that the central level did not seem to prioritize their work "If we want to achieve anything and fight the regional government on equal terms, we'll need more resources on the regional level (…)".

Several of the local chapters based a large part of their work on funds supplied by regional governmentally funded cooperation councils, especially the "Forum for Outdoors Activities and the Environment" or local government, and this impacted the choice of topics. In Buskerud, a large portion of the funds for the local secretary Per Klunderud's work was provided by working on a project for the regional government.

> It's almost a kind of 'work' that we do for the regional governor on cultural landscape preservation. We've been something akin to an arm of the local government, on issues that they haven't been able to do by themselves.

It is worth noting that the Norwegian local chapters receives a set sum of money over the organization's budget, while the Danish local chapters may apply for funding for projects. In addition, DN sets aside more money per activist than the Norwegian counterpart does. This may explain why none of the Danish local leaders mentioned this as a problem.

6.4 Passive activism

The governmental inclusion and professionalization of the organizations have not only manifested itself at the central level. Several of the local leaders pointed out that professionalized forms of local work made it hard to pick up new issues. This mainly concerns the role as local hearing partner. Both in Denmark and Norway, hearings have a long tradition as a political instrument for the inclusion of "affected parties". In Norway, it was introduced in the "neighbor law" as early as 1887, and has later become more widely used. (Asdal 2011:108) Environmental organizations have often taken the role as nature's voice in these hearings (one of the slogans on the wall of DN was "We shall speak for the Hazel mouse").

The formalized channels of are important sources of stability in the organizations' local work. As Jamison (2001) points out, community-based activism and grassroots activity is hard to sustain. Concerned citizens may unite against a particular issue, and then disperse once the issue is settled. (Jamison 2001:157) By organizing the work through local hearings, the local chapters can constitute a stable oppositional sphere, weighing in on any new encroachment on nature that may appear.

This stability has a price. Writing responses to hearings is tedious, and not inviting to new recruits who might want to contribute. In addition, it casts the local activists in the relatively passive role of a cog in a bureaucratic machinery. Former managing director in NNV, Jan Thomas Odegard saw this as one reason why the local chapters had a hard time engaging new recruits.

> People are asked to write responses to hearings. The hearings used to be highly regarded in the inner core of the organization, and it is a very important democratic arena, but I think a lot of people feel like environmental 'spice' in a process that is already decided.

Another detrimental effect was that the volume of hearings crowded out other, more proactive forms of work. Almost all regional leaders in both countries complained about having too little time and resource to tackle the "workload" handed down from local and national governmental agencies. Annette Ugleberg in Sydjylland argued that the local chapters were flooded by issues. "All the issues come in a small stream from the municipality and the central leadership. They are all sent to us, and not sorted before they are sent. There's so much to read."

According to several of my sources, the reliance on these processes was an important reason for not engaging in climate change. The climate became a secondary issue when local activists felt overwhelmed by hearings on projects which put pressure on their local nature, a situation which frustrated some local leaders. As Kurt Due Johansen in Fyn argued:

> Generally speaking, we feel guilty about the climate issue. We are struggling to keep the 'dirt from the doorstep', there are so many issues being delivered to us from the government. Zoning, building permits and so on (…). There is so much to do, even if Odense is not a rural area, there is constant pressure on the natural resources. We have a lot to deal with.

A large number of local leaders in Denmark noted that they were on the defensive. Arne Hastrup in Vestsjælland pointed out that they were more reactive than proactive. The local government was seen as the most important agenda-setter. Several of the Norwegian local leaders reported a similar pattern. Torgeir Havik in Nord-Trøndelag felt that this made it hard to decide upon new issues to work with: "Our activity is often ruled by what kinds of issues crop up, and that not anything we or the central level can control. We get sent these issues as a hearing partner."

When a majority of the local activity comes from these channels, it is up to the local or national government whether the local environmentalists address climate change. If climate change-related decisions are taken on a level or through channels that are unavailable for local environmentalists, they are not well-equipped to protest. Several of the activists had been involved in climate-related activities by the local government, but this was more common in Denmark, where the local leaders in Sydjylland, Storstrøm, Roskilde and Nordjylland reported that they were included through "green councils". These councils hold several meetings a year where local NGOs are invited to discuss the climate among other issues, or that they participated in hearings on municipal climate plans mandated from the National government. In Norway, several of the local chapters had played a part in the hearing process leading up to the Municipal climate plans which were mandated by the national government in 2010, but only one respondent, Per Klunderud in Buskerud, reported to still be involved with these plans, by performing a third-party "audit" of their implementation.

The Danish local leaders are more closely tied to government than those in NNV. Since 1937, the main work method has been to raise local preservation cases through litigation. As the president argued: "It makes us a pseudo-governmental agency, not just a grassroots organization. We have a governmental mandate, we have been given responsibility." This special power is not connected to climate emissions, and is not currently being used in the organization's climate work, according to the organization's president Ella Maria Bisschop-Larsen.

This tool is especially "binding" on the Danish local groups' activities because the organizations does not trust the government to follow established law without their oversight. The president Ella Maria Bisschop-Larsen saw it as a significant problem that the government abused this special relationship.

> We always underline that our work is a supplement to the government. (…) We can raise official complaints, and all that, it means that some municipalities say that 'it's so uncomfortable for us to say no to something the people wants, so we leave that to the NGOs, you know. We do not accept that. I tell them every time: you must take the responsibility for keeping the letter of the law. It's not the responsibility of local volunteers.

The local activists in both organizations have been given a prominent role as hearing partners in municipal and governmental planning through hearings. However, this inclusion also binds several of the organizations to certain issues, and cast them in roles of local bureaucrats, writing reports as part of larger bureaucratic processes. As climate policy is not (yet) as inclusive as other forms of environmental policy, the inclusion can weaken the local chapter's willingness and/or ability to approach new issues, where they do not have the same channels of influence as in nature preservation. According to former managing director in NNV, Jan Thomas Odegard, the more "action-oriented" local chapters were much easier to cooperate with on new issues.

6.5 Chapter summary

Trends of centralization and professionalization has been identified in studies that were finished before the organizations made climate change a central issue. These trends create tensions between the central and local level, and have to a certain degree changed the role of members in the organization. As climate change is an issue that has predominantly been worked with on the central level, the "localization" of climate change may be affected by these existing tensions. They may explain the general attitude towards members in the organizations, which have a large central office and an at times distanced relationship with their local level. They may also explain local resistance towards the central level in general, and the climate issue in particular. By most measures, the Danish activists should have more resources, more viable forms of local action, and more relevant knowledge. However, many of the Danish activists saw their own role as unimportant. This is likely connected to the established work forms at the local level. The symbiotic relationship to the government through hearings is the main source of new issues to work with. For local wielding this "hammer", the climate did not seem sufficiently nail-shaped, being too complex and remote to address through the usual channels of influence. The Danish activists are more strongly tied to this process than the Norwegian counterpart, by having a governmental mandate to protest local destruction of nature.

As we can see, there is a certain generational gap within the organization, which is correlated to ideological differences, and largely aligns itself along the local/central divide. This may affect the climate issue indirectly in at least two ways. Firstly, older activists may know less about climate change than younger people who have been educated with climate change on their schedule. Secondly, older activists, at least in Norway, may have shaped their environmental involvement in opposition to energy production, and may therefore be less open to the idea of becoming proponents of renewable energy production in the name of climate change.

This implies that it is hard to ascribe the current efforts and conditions to the issue alone.

7.0 How do the activists see climate change?

To be able to address the issue, the local activists need to be aware of it, and able to identify climate change-related issues in their local communities. However, climate change comes in many shapes. The activist's understanding of climate change is shaped in the context of their surroundings, their experiences, and the organization. Here, I will analyze different conceptions of climate change among the activists.

Climate change activism requires knowledge about how the causes and effects of climate change may manifest themselves locally. I have already discussed how climate change has been constructed, through scientific modelling and social processes, as a global issue. For natural scientists, climate change can be made visible through visualizations of Global Circulation Models, graphs, numbers and text. But it cannot be to the same degree as, for example, a poached rhino, garbage in the streets, or an oil spill. While melting ice caps and extreme weather events may be attributed to climate change, most such examples are either remote (as the ice cap on the North Pole), or hard to link directly to climate change. Visibility makes a problem more intuitive, and easier to understand. Thus, we may find that issues of greater magnitude creates less involvement than issues which are more visible. One example from Norway is the "Monster masts" of Hardanger. The building of new power lines along the picturesque (but highly polluted) Hardanger fjord caused large protests, and post cards, paintings and photographs showing the visible damage to nature was a key part of the campaign (Hansen K. , 2012).

Interpreting local issue takes expertise, a lens or a framework to discern and sort local observations. A forest is not just a forest, a windmill is not just a windmill, a waterfall is not just a waterfall. One example of a charting of such differences can be found in the work of Syse (2001,

2010), who contrasts an experienced forester's view of the forests surrounding Oslo with that of local trekkers, and different conceptions of landscape and biodiversity between stakeholders in Argyll, Scotland.

Ella Maria Bisschop-Larsen, president of DN, pointed to the visibility of new issues as a key disadvantage in terms of recruitment of new members and activists.

> The primary reason for us being bigger in the 70s was that the questions we addressed was about visible pollution. I mean, you could see it in the water, you could see it in the fields, you could see the smoke in the air. Yellow smoke, red water by the slaughter houses, the dye plants (laughs). Those were visible pollution issues. Today (…) there are other kinds of pollution problems, and they are actually harder to work with, climate change included. It's harder to communicate non-visible pollution.

Climate change is not (yet) visible to the local activists. But this does not mean that it cannot be comprehended or indirectly visualized. Climate change may become visible by proxy, through projections, statistics, or through concrete projects connected to mitigation or adaptation efforts. As Asdal (2011) argues, quantification of environmental destruction "creates, binds and forms structures, they help something become visible, an object of policy" (Asdal, 2011, s. 99). But there is a problem with these "meta-visializations": Within the context of ideological differences and internal disagreements in the organizations, climate change may also be connected to other issues or discussions, and associated with these discussions.

7.1 Seeing climate change, and making it visible

Seeing climate change is largely a question of perspective, as the concrete effects have yet to materialize in most of the member's local communities. But climate mitigation and adaptation projects could symbolize climate change in different ways. Local chapters included climate in the understanding of existing local issues, such as road development, renewable energy development or forests, but there were also examples of novel ways of visualizing the issue.

In the flat peninsula and islands of Denmark, the rising tides were an especially clear threat. Both DN and the Danish government has created maps and visualizations of how Denmark can be affected by rising sea levels, including damages on farmland and loss of area. Local activists also incorporated this perspective in their work. In Vestjylland, for example, the work to preserve Linfjorden, a local fjord, was seen as both an issue of nature preservation and climate adaptation. Local leader John Bjerregaard Clausen was worried about the effects of rising oceans: "We focus a lot on climate and the possible rise in sea level, how to think about both nature and protection, and include climate and high tides". Here, the existing preservation efforts were "reframed" in light of climate adaptation. However, some of the activists saw the adaptation efforts in a more anthropocentric light, fearing the effects on heavier rains and high tides on their local communities. In Nordjylland, the local leader Thorkild Kjeldsen pointed to local work to reduce local vulnerability to extreme rainfall, and in Østjylland, the leader Søren Høyager argued that the regional capital Aarhus is vulnerable: "The center of town is very low (…) Part of it is below sea-level. This place will look like Holland unless we change our minds." Such worries has the potential of making new issues visible, as not only nature, but also "civilization" comes under threat.

In Norway, the "visible" aspects of the climate issue are still predominantly mitigation projects. Several of the activists I talked to, pointed out that their local work helped making the issue tangible. This was the case for the "Oil Free" project. In Sør-Trøndelag, the local activists launched the program by displaying a used oil tank on the main street in Trondheim According to local leader Steinar Nygard, the visibility was a great benefit. "When you see the old, battered oil tank we have dug up, you understand that this [energy efficiency] is a question of pollution".

Another example was a small-scale action by the local chapter in Vest-Agder. Marthe Ulltveit-Moe, the local leader in Kristiansand had taken a

young activist with her at a simple exercise – counting the amount of cars entering Kristiansand with only one passenger, so-called "lunch bag drivers", transporting nothing but themselves and their food. The pollution from the "lunch bag drivers" was visible to the activists, and the resulting statistics were equally visible and understandable by the public. This points to an important distinction. While climate change may not be directly visible, much of the traditional work of the environmental movement has served to make "invisible" issues visible in the form of statistics, models or facts. Both through maps of rising sea levels (in Denmark), dirty oil tanks, and statistics showing the unnecessary number of empty car seats, climate change-related issues are made visible and understandable for both the activists and the public at large.

7.2 Climate change as a (too) global issue

There were differences in how important the activists saw themselves in the climate work of the organization. For many, the "global" qualities of the issue made it hard to discern locally. In Norway, a larger portion of the local chapters saw themselves as important, but not all. In Rogaland, the local leader Erik Thoring saw their chapter as being a "sparrow", too small to make a difference on such a big issue. In the Oslo and Akershus chapter, which include 1/3 of the organization's members, the local leader Gjermund Andersen did concede that the local chapters had a role to play, but he also saw the issue as too big and vague to approach, with the possible exception of road development. Speaking about the local work in general, she noted that the central level did not seem to prioritize their work. The respondent from Finnmark Gunnar Reinholdsen argued that the major decisions are made in the national government. He thought that local activism could increase the pressure on then national assembly, but that the payoff was small.

This attitude was more common among the respondents in DN. Four of the local leaders argued that the issue was better handled on the national or international level, which they did not feel that they could play a part in.

As Arne Hastrup from Vestsjælland argued: "We see climate as something that is global and not local". However, he was open for working with climate if local issues cropped up.

> Where you might find something, is when something happens locally. Wind mills, solar cells concrete projects (..). Other than that, it's very abstract. (…) it's not enough to do something locally, it's a global problem.

The respondent from Storkøbenhavn, Steen Christiansen, argued along similar lines. For Peter Skat Nilsen in Nordsjælland, even the national level was seen as insignificant. "Denmark has less than one thousandth of the world population (…) I am deeply pessimistic about what can be achieved". He was split on the issue, arguing that the national and international level was the most important, even though he did favor local activity. "Initiatives should come from above, that is, from the EU and the government".

These perspectives resonate with the points Tsing (2005) and Yearley (2005) has made, of the general problem with "global" discourses. In this case, the pacifying effect of the "global" label seems to be in play. Even though the global problem is no more than an accumulation of local processes, the local activists see themselves as insignificant. Such sentiments reveal a failure to make the climate issue local, and to create a manageable context for their local efforts. The local leader in Vest-Agder, Marte Ulltveit-Moe, who was heavily involved in climate change activism, argued that the environmental movement had framed the issue in a too abstract way.

> I think the climate is two things: it's 'high up' – the climate negotiations, the climate goals and so on. Some of the local work is also 'up there'. I was on a seminar with the Norwegian Church Aid about climate. It was all 'up there'. Thinking about the children in Africa, we should write to our politicians and ask them to cut emissions, and things like that. Then there are the emissions that are

> ‘down here’. I think they are the most important. All emissions are local. They are from somewhere. All emissions are by definition small, all of them. Even a Chinese coal plant is a small part of the big problem (…). We must get down at the concrete level. *That* bike, *that* highway, *that* oil furnace, *that* train. I feel lonely, because too many people talk ‘up there’.

This assessment cuts to the core of the discussion: climate change can be visible in many ways. However some of the conceptualizations of climate change are not only distant or hard to grasp, they may also cause resistance and conflict.

7.3 Climate change mitigation as a danger to nature

What happens, for example, when climate change “up there” collides with the local environment “down here?” Here, I will look at disagreement between the local and the central level over renewable energy in the two organizations. For many of the respondents, climate was not just hard to grasp, but also conflicted with local nature preservation work. The Climate Change issue is indirectly visible to activists as local destruction of nature, eyesores in the cultural landscape and loss of rivers and other ecosystems. As we have seen, half of the Norwegian responders, and six of the ten Danish responders pointed out that there was conflict between climate change and issues they were already working with. The main source of such conflict was development of renewable energy. Nine of the Norwegian chapters reported that there was conflict between climate change and nature preservation on this issue, and six more argued that they were critical to the central level on this issue. In Denmark, six of the local leaders argued that there was some conflict, and that windmills were the main source. However, the conflict in Norway was voiced more loudly by several of the Norwegian local leaders, especially leaders in some of the largest chapters.

Since January 2012, a larger controversy about renewable energy production has been sparked connected to the discussion about "green certificates". This a new regulatory program, introduced in January 2012, where the Norwegian Government subsidize commercially unviable electricity production to boost renewable energy production in Norway. [24] One official goal of this policy is to export electricity to Europe. The program is also connected to the planned "electrification" of Norwegian oil platforms, to phase out the small gas-powered generators which power them, which would require more power production on land. The result is a large increase in development of wind mills, hydro plants and new power lines, especially in the western and northern parts of the country. The calculations of the climate effect is difficult and contested. NNV officially supports the program, but it has increasingly caused internal conflict, especially between the local and the central level. Climate advisor Holger Schaupitz recognized that: "(…) some local activists see it as a danger to a waterfall or a piece of undisturbed nature."

The development of renewable energy is not evenly distributed among the country's regions. In some regions, where development has been most intensive, the local activists felt overwhelmed. The local leader Ragnhild Sandøy in Troms felt that activists could not live with the current situation for long. Referring to the large increase in development plans in her region, she drew parallels to the old fight against the damming of the Alta River. "Today we have a hundred Alta struggles in one region, there's an inflation, and the media doesn't cover it".An additional frustration is that these projects are subsidized by the government.

Sandøy argued that the members of the organization were not comfortable with climate change as an issue. "What we see is a large gap between administration and organization, and perhaps also the central board". The local leaders in Nordland and Finnmark had similar gripes. In Nordland, the local leader Erling Solvang said that he "questioned the climate effect"

[24] The Norwegian Ministry of Oil and Energy (2012)

of local energy development, which he branded as "extreme". In Finnmark, the local leader Gunnar Reinholdtsen said that he was critical to central policies on electrification, as it meant more power lines and energy development, but that they remained loyal to the central line.

Gjermund Andersen, the leader of the important Oslo and Akershus chapter (representing nearly a third of the organization's total members) have been among the strongest voices in this discussion. In his view, renewable energy production and nature preservation are more or less incompatible goals. In the local member magazine "Grevlingen" (The Badger), Gjermund Andersen criticized the climate-related work as a part of a centralization of the organization. He argued that "green energy" is often at edge with these goals locally while "climate emissions is not the acute threat to nature". He pointed out that The Conservation Society's role is different from others, and warns against "riding two horses."[25] The debate has also been taken in larger fora: in February of 2013, the Oslo chapter arranged a public meeting with the title "Wind power and loss of nature or energy conservation and nature conservation?"[26]

By attending a meeting of the national board, I was able to see this discussion play out among the local leaders and the central board. The following account is based on my recording of the meeting. The "green certificates" program had come under heavy criticism from several experts, and been scrutinized on a documentary on the national TV channel NRK in the fall of 2012.[27] The documentary caused internal debates in the organization via e-mail, especially among regional leaders.[28] The documentary had caused Heidi Sørensen, a previous leader of the Conservation Society, to proclaim publicly that she deeply regretted supporting the program as a politician.[29]

[25] [25] From *Grevlingen* issue 4, 2012
[26] The Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature 2013, web resource
[27] From NRK 2012, TV broadcast
[28] Mentioned in the discussing during the meeting.
[29] Lie (2012) Teknisk Ukeblad, web resource

Torstein Bye, one of the most critical experts featured in the documentary, was invited to speak at the seminar. In his presentation, he argued against the supposed climate effects of the new energy projects. The following discussion displayed a large variety of intellectual approaches to the issue. While Sunniva Pettersen Eidvoll, member of the central board, argued that Norway could help phase out fossil energy in Europe by developing more energy production and building a large new cable to the continent, several of the regional representatives present expressed doubts that this was possible, pointing out that the visiting expert was of the opposite opinion. Climate advisor Audun Randen Johnsson from the secretariat argued that the electrification would not be accepted if it served to increase oil production on the platforms, in which case the climate effect would be negated. The meeting did not take shape as a clear division between the central and local level. The local activists are also split, with some having stronger objections than others. The discussion about green certificates was not settled at this meeting, and cut short because of time restraints. [30]

This nature-climate conflict was compounded when local activists were confronted with climate-related arguments by developers. As Steinar Nygard in Sør-Trøndelag remarked:

> I see people who have never cared about climate change before, such as local land owners, who suddenly become very concerned about it when they can earn subsidies. There's a hypocrisy which makes our stomachs turn.

The discussion of forestry and climate has been contentious in several regions of Norway, as local foresters have draped themselves in climate concerns. In Møre og Romsdal, local leader Øystein Folden was frustrated about how local foresters is using climate as a proxy argument. "They make plantations and call it climate policy, it's a recurring theme, with a lot of debate surrounding it, and the coastal foresters are pulling the strings".

[30] Based on recording of the meeting, and the meeting procedures.

As in Norway, the main reason for conflict on climate-related issues reported by Danish local leaders was local renewable energy production. Six of the responders pointed out that this was a source of disagreement. However, the disagreement has led to a lower general level of conflict between the local and central level, and within the local level, and the local responders did not express similar fundamental criticism of the central level as they did in Norway. To mitigate the conflicts that have cropped up, the Conservation Society has created a national energy mill policy, which mainly argues for placing wind mills at sea, in areas that are already industrialized on farmland and along roads, while generally arguing against windmill sin protected or vulnerable nature or recreational areas. [31]

While the Danish local leaders I interviewed were by far less critical to climate efforts than those in Norway, local resistance to renewable energy was a general problem in the organization, according to climate advisor Jens La Cour.

> There are some who think that we shouldn't talk too much about the climate, because talk about the climate agenda came at the expense of nature. That was largely the story in our organization, and a contributing cause of resistance.

The central level was no stranger to protesting windmills either. The president Ella-Maria Bisschop-Larsen pointed out that a large testing facility for new windmills recently had been planned in the middle of a national park, a plan DN opposed. As the windmill industry is large, DN sees it as an important task to keep them in check.

However, local renewable energy production has historically been less contested in Denmark than in Norway. One reason is that the local population has been included in wind mill production in Denmark. The environmental movement has since the 70s shaped much of their work

[31] The Society for Nature Conservation in Denmark 2010 (f) Report

through the development of local expertise on the development of wind power. This was inspired by the traditional "share ownership movement", a deep-rooted part of the Danish labor movement. Unlike ordinary shares, shares in this kind of enterprise guarantees an equal say in the company.[32] This method of development became popular in windmill construction from the 80's onward. The majority of windmills constructed between 1984 and 1994 were built through a so-called "windmill guild". At the peak of the movement, as many as 100 000 Danes owned part of a windmill.[33] The primary conduit for this activity has traditionally been the Organization for Renewable Energy (Jamison et al. 1990:104).

This way of producing renewable energy has been credited as one of the reasons why renewable energy production has been met with much less opposition in Denmark than in Norway. Moe (2012) argues that differences in public opinion is an important factor in the large differences in the success of the countries' windmill industries. While Norwegian developers have largely met opposition locally, Danish developers have been able to rely on local support (Moe, 2012).

The local leader in Vestsjælland, Arne Hastrup, pointed out that local ownership was key to avoid conflict between renewable energy production and concerns for nature. By becoming the owners of their local wind mill, protesting activists were turned into climate-conscious local developers, and the eyesore and the noise were no longer as perceptible. "[jokingly] If you own a wind mill, you don't hear the noise as well, you accept the disturbance in the landscape". Hastrup pointed out that two projects in his region exemplified this effect. One of them included local activists, and went through with few protests. The other "came from high above with a big, shiny plan. That's when trouble arises". As with the conflict with the forestry industry in NNV, climate change mitigation was harder to swallow when business interests were behind it, and when local leaders

[32] From Gyldendals Danske Encyclopedi 2012, web resource
[33] From the Danish Windmill Organization 2012, web resource

feel ignored in the process. Context, especially local expertise and the level of inclusion and openness in the process colors the perception of climate change among local activists.

7.4 Climate change as a metaphor for the central level

Issues have connotations, and the stances people can be affected by underlying conflicts. One example is a study of the Norwegian conflict over wolves, where Sørlie (2001) argues that local inhabitants largely saw the local wolf population as a "metaphor for the government". In NNV, the debate about renewable energy exemplify how the issue is, among some activists, viewed as a symbol of problematic centralization of the organization.

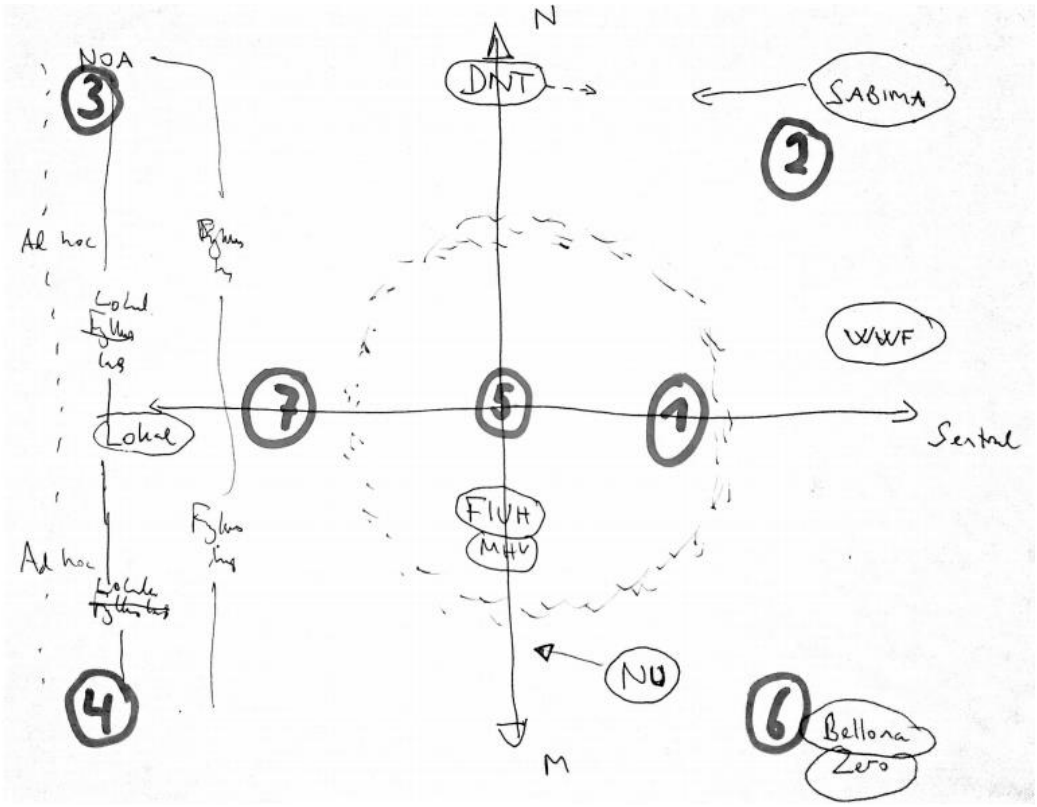
A key point in the aforementioned criticism from Gjermund Andersen is that the central level has come to dominate the organization, and not serve the local chapters. "The Conservation Society is you and me, the members", Andersen writes, but he laments that the secretariat - "this service, organ" - has "grown out of its role and come to dominate the organization" [34]

For Andersen, the climate discussion is part of a larger discussion of the professionalization and centralization of the organization. In his interview with me, he sketched an overview of how these two issues are related. The numbers represent different places the Conservation Society could place itself currently. The vertical axis represents nature conservation (up) and environmental problems such as pollution and climate change (down). The horizontal axis goes from "local" to "central", indicating degree of centralization. Shown in other bubbles are organizations such as the Norwegian Trekking Organization (DNT), WWF, Nature and Youth (NU), the Future in our Hands (FIVH), Bellona, Zero, the Coordinating Council for Biodiversity (SABIMA) and Green Living (MHV). The numbers indicate different possible positions he argues that NNV could take. In the

[34] From «The Badger» issue 4, 2012

far top right corner he has drawn his own regional chapter (NOA), as "local" and nature-oriented as possible.

Figure 4Gjermund Andersen's chart of organizational structure and choise of focus



Andersen dislikes that the organization is seemingly trying to mimic the structure of the Department of Environment, "having an opinion on every related topic" instead of "concentrating our efforts on the core activity" (meaning nature preservation). In a following article in The Conservation Society's national publication "Natur & Miljø", called "The climate struggle causes confusion", the following debate was summarized. Member of the Central Board Sunniva Pettersen Eidsvoll was "especially critical to the emphasis on differences between central organs and the organization", pointing to clear decisions in the political program and statements approved by the Yearly Meeting. [35]

As we can see, the climate is here part of a larger discussion about the centralization of the organization. While the members of the Climate

[35] From "Natur og Miljø" issue 6, 2012

Network argued that the central level had become too large, and removed from the local activists, the Danish local leaders reported less animosity to the central level, were more open to their suggestions, and were even willing to change their local work to be in line with the organization's national policy. In short, the Danish organization saw less conflict along a center-periphery axis.

A possible explanation for is that this debate is influenced by another underlying tension, the Norwegian "local community perspective", which has been described as a "unique" trait of Norwegian environmental ideology and culture. Grenstad, Selle and Strømsnes (2006) makes an effort to distill this ideology as a brew made up of the country's geography and history. Between 1537 and 1814, Norway was in a union under the Danish Crown. Emerging from 400 years of union with Denmark, Norwegian nationalists in the 19th century glorified rural society and wild nature, building a common sense of national identity (Grendstad et al 2006: pp 104-105). "Urban culture, associated with extraterritorial (i.e., Danish) clergy, bureaucracy and townsfolk, was alien to the folk spirit. It was nature, not culture that was national" (Witoszek 1997, as quoted in Grendstad, et al 2006:105)

The ideology is defined as a general affinity for rural interests "(…in Norway, a local perspective entails that urban interests, at least up to the present, play a role secondary to those of the local communities" (Grendstad et al 2006:120). This provides a possible explanation for why the underlying center-periphery conflict has seemingly had a stronger impact on how many of the Norwegian activists perceive a new issue that is "handed down" from the central level: climate change.

It might seem quite paradoxical that a center-periphery conflict would be possible between the Oslo and Akershus chapter and the central office, given that their offices are no more than a short bike ride apart. However, Grenstad et al concludes: "There is no urban effect on the local |community perspective" (Grendstad et al:116). As Bortne et al. argues,

this ideology is national, and not strictly tied to where people live. Even center of Oslo is within walking distance from the forest, and most people are tied to the primary sector through family ties (Bortne 2002: 23). The differences between the central office and the Oslo and Akershus chapter are not necessarily tied to where they reside, but to where they travel: to the center of town to lobby politicians, or to the outskirts, to walk in the forest.

7.5 Differing views - the Mejlflak controversy

If seeing climate change is a matter of perspective, it follows that different perspectives may give two interpretations within the organization of the same issue, or the same project. A particularly striking example could be found in Denmark, where the high population density means that singular projects may be literally within eyesight of several local chapters of the Conservation Society. In Norway, such conflicts are seldom, as local chapters are usually several miles, mountains or fjords apart. This has led to a stronger conflict between the center and the periphery, even within the organization, as we have seen in the discussion over Green Certificates above. In Denmark, the high population density can create conflict between different chapters over local issues. The Mejlflak wind park is one such example. This planned park of oceanic windmills will be placed close to the shore within eyesight of four different local chapters of DN, and has caused some internal disagreement.

The planned Mejlflak wind park is located close to the island Samsø close to the bay of the regional center Aarhus. This project was mentioned by several of the members of the central leadership as a somewhat representative case of the internal conflicts, and the way the organization handles them. The Mejlflak project also involves members of the climate network. The windmill park was initiated by local activists in the Syddjurs chapter (where the leader of the Climate Network, Christian Bundgaard, is the leader) located west of Aarhus, facing Samsø. The building of the windmills was organized within the tradition from the 1970s. As a large

part of the local undeveloped land was designated as a national park in 2011, the local chapter suggested creating a wind park in the middle of the shallow bay of Aarhus. The park can supply energy to the local area, which houses around half a million people.

The idea was to copy the success of Samsø, where the 6000 inhabitants gets all their power off renewable energy. According to one of the initiators, Christian Bundgaard (also the leader of the Climate Network) local chapter decided to create a windmill partnership, where local inhabitants could apply individually to participate in the funding of the park. The local activists in Aarhus partnered up with local energy companies, which are also owned through a share partnership.

The Mejlflak project is still disputed through the ongoing implementation phase. According to Nina Saarnak, coordinator of local affairs in DN, it has split the local chapters in DN. Surprisingly, a slight majority of the members in the climate-conscious local chapter at the carbon neutral island Samsø opposed the development, on aesthetic grounds. The Aarhus chapter approved of it, but the chapter in the eastward municipality of Odder opposed it. In Syddjurs, where the project had originated, there were also mixed feelings, but they generally approved of the project as long as there were small adjustments on the placement. The building can be seen as somewhat of a zero-sum game, where all aspects of the windmill conflict played in. The wind park that is planned will be built between Samsø and the shore, with Syddjurs to the north, Samsø to the South, Odder to the West and Aarhus to the northwest. The windmills can be seen from all chapters, and a change in location can mean that someone else are more bothered by the placement. Aesthetic preferences were pitched against each other, as well as the interests of energy consumers in the Aarhus area and those who would prefer to keep the horizon clear of further disturbances. The four different chapters had four different perspectives on the wind farms. For the chapter in Syddjurs and Aarhus, it

represented a local effort to reduce climate emissions. For Odder and Samsø, it represented an eyesore.

The solution to this internal conflict was to use the secretariat as a mediator. Saarnak was given the task of creating a common statement on behalf of the organization. This was done on the suggestion of the local chapters themselves, after fruitless attempts at local cooperation. Saarnak received comments from all chapters. She describes her role as something similar to a bureaucrat, receiving arguments, but ultimately basing her decision on the central policy, as decided by the national assembly. "I tried to peel away the many local arguments, and look at what we have decided upon, what Danmarks Naturfredningsforening has decided, and Denmark's laws." However, she did not acknowledge the similarity. She had made the decision "not like a bureaucrat, but based on a policy". This kind of decision-making has become more common within the organization, and it is done independently of the local chapters' actions. According to Saarnak, local chapters are positive to this kind of involvement from the central level, as local activists had much respect for the central leadership and secretariat.

Making climate change "visible" can in some cases simply be a matter of changing perspective. As we have seen, Danish activists can watch the same wind park from two sides of a bay, and see either an eyesore or a climate solution.

For some, the climate could even be invisible in their own work. One of the respondent that was most pessimistic about local climate work in Denmark was Steen Christensen in Copenhagen. He argued that the organization should not work with climate change, that the local chapters did not play an important role. At the end of the interview, he mentioned a local road demonstration that he had joined against a large road project. "The protests against the road was both based on concerns for our environment and of course on curbing local traffic, so there is some climate there". Here, the local protests could easily be seen as a more or

less effective means of curbing local climate emissions, even though the local activist initially argued that local climate activism was not feasible.

7.6 Chapter summary

This breakdown of different perspectives, show us that "climate change" is not a singular issue, and that the local understanding and assessment of the issue is largely dependent on context, both geographical and political. The conceptualization of Climate change as "global" has led to pessimism among many activists about what they can achieve locally. In Norway, arguments of nature preservation intermingle with arguments about the centralization of the organization. Meanwhile, activists had strikingly different perspectives on local climate work, from deeply pessimistic to enthusiastic. A small shift of perspective can change the assessment of how easy climate change is to work with locally, and whether it is compatible with other important issues. A clear pattern is that climate arguments are less welcome if they are put forth by commercial actors, or if they demand sacrifices that do not seem to benefit the local population. As local activist Arne Hastrup pointed out, noise or destruction to landscape was more acceptable when local activists owned the windmills themselves. The diverging perspectives of the Mejlflak project, from different sides of the Aarhus Bay, exemplify this effect.

8.0 A battle of regimes – or a new synthesis?

There is a curious difference between the conflicts I have discussed above: in Norway, the main conflict over climate issues is between those activists and central actors who support renewable energy production and those who strongly oppose it. While this conflict is also apparent in Denmark, DN also sees as strong conflict between especially climate-conscious actors – the Climate Network – and the central level. Here, I will explore how activists' expertise plays an important role in these conflicts. I will go on to look at how a failure to transcend internal differences between old and new cognitive regimes may hamper the efforts to make climate change

"local", and point to the examples of new modes of cognitive praxis that may bridge this gap.

What role may activists' expertise play in climate policy? In many ways, activist's role as experts have been weakened over the past decades, especially that which has been developed in the face of new environmental problems. Still, local activists has considerable knowledge about the environment, and their surroundings, and this discussion would border on the paternalistic if it did not include an understanding of the way local activists employ their significant knowledge and expertise to assess the issue. Climate change can involve compromises that are hard to swallow. It may involve cooperation with powerful business interests, or governmental agencies. To navigate these waters requires expertise, and an understanding of the pros and cons of climate-related development that may come at the expense of local biodiversity or natural beauty.

As mentioned above, environmental politics is a "politics of expertise". This expertise is also necessary on the local level. Grassroots activities are no less dependent on some level of understanding of scientific facts than lobbyism on the central level. This is especially striking in the widespread use of hearings, in which the local activists take the role of local experts. This is an important aspect of the local activist's assessment of climate change. It is also a central aspect of the two major conflicts I have charted connected to the climate issue in the two organizations: the resistance to wind mills in both countries (stronger in Norway) and the conflict between the Climate Network at the central level in Denmark.

8.1 Proud local experts

Let us first return to the conflict over renewable energy. The phrasing of climate advisor Jens La Cour in Denmark – that the resistance to windmills at the local level is "kneejerk".[36] While the organization underlines the wisdom of their members, this phrasing reveals a certain understanding of the local activists as less knowledge- or expertise-based

[36] His Danish phrasing was "ritual", but he agreed to this translation.

than the central level. It resembles the idea of local protest as based in a "Not in my back yard"- mentality (NIMBY). NIMBY was coined as a derogatory moniker for American local activists, this abbreviation was later appropriated as a positive slogan. (Dowie 199:131) However, as several studies have shown, NIMBY is a simplistic explanation of local resistance, which underplays local understanding, and the complex reasons for why people resist local development (Horst 2007) (Walker 1995) (Kraft & Clar1991). In the case of local apprehension towards renewable energy projects y within the two organization, it is largely based on an honest assessment of the trade-off between local nature and climate mitigation. However, this calculation may be slightly skewed by the imbalance in local expertise, between "new" and "old" issues.

Firstly, we may note that none of the responders in either country reported that they lacked general knowledge about the issue of climate change, with the possible exception of Troms in Norway, where the local leader argued that emissions from volcanoes outweigh human emissions. (RS) In Norway, there had been one recent instance of outright denial of climate change as an issue, from a representative on the Yearly Meeting in 2010, but this argument gained little traction, according to climate advisor Holger Schaupitz: "My impression was that most of us saw that as a strange statement". In addition, it is worth noting that all respondents but one argued that the local chapters were important in the organization's work with climate change.

What was perceived as lacking was knowledge about the actual climate effect of local policy, and practical ways of impacting it. Similar statements came from Danish activists. "If we were to work with this, it's not something we could easily do. Anette Ugleberg in Sydjylland argued that, "We would need guidance or something…about what significance it would have (…) it's hard to take action without a certain level of knowledge" This also made it hard to enter local discussions, even when the climate is on the agenda. Several of the activists argued that they did

not think they had enough knowledge on the issue. Kurt Due Johansen in Fyn was not optimistic about their local expertise. "[climate change], that's something the central element must deal with. I do not think we can handle it. You need professional people, who have the necessary insight".

Lack of local climate knowledge was also seen as an important reason for why the Climate Municipality project did not involve many of the activist, according to project coordinator Jens La Cour.

> Our local activists cannot act as advisors, and they dnot have the resources to call the local administration four times a day to check up on their work. They can celebrate positive examples (…). But they aren't actors in any way.

Similar sentiments were voiced in Norway. Per Klunderud in Buskerud was hesitant to approach the issue.

> The climate is a hard issue to get a grasp on. The experts are fighting tooth and nail, especially on CO_2 binding of forests. For us, in a forested region, it's hard to enter those discussions without expertise.

Klunderud also argued that the local forestry sector was hard to criticize.

> For me, as a farmer - I read some of the forest industry which has really taken this issue, and use CO_2-arguments for all they're worth – but I think, we haven't' known about this for very long. How can they be so sure? This has been studied for three, maybe five years. There are no eternal truths. There are problems connected to keeping a reasonable discourse on some fields. You need to keep your facts straight. It's important that the Conservation society is seen as objective.

In both organizations, there were efforts to increase knowledge about climate change through internal seminars. In Norway, several of the activists reported that it was harder to attend seminars because of the larger distance to the capital. According to Nils Tore Skogland in

Hordaland, the organization's internal seminars did not include enough information about more proactive forms of environmental work, and was too focused on teaching members how to make politicians change their minds by using media pressure. In Denmark, the respondents were generally pleased with the seminars offered through the "nature school" program. This program includes a smorgasbord of courses that activists may attend, and these include basic leadership training and courses on climate change, mainly focused on adaptation. As the activists may choose which seminars to attend, far from all had chosen the seminars related to climate change. According to organizational secretary Steinar Alsos, NNV plans a similar program.

The local unease with climate change work cannot only be attributed to lack of knowledge. Rather, there is an imbalance in the knowledge at the local level. Local activists reported that they were unsure about the actual climate effect of local projects, while their knowledge about the effects on local nature can be extensive, and more thorough than that of the political leadership and secretariat at the central office.

In both organizations, local leaders showed pride in their local knowledge. In Denmark, the leader in Storstrøm Michael Løvendal Kruse argued that, "Many of our local activists are people with impressive expertise and a lot of knowledge, sometimes even more than the professionals". In Norway, the local responders had similar attitudes, but they formulated them differently: several of the responders made a point out of the difference between themselves and the central level, indicating that the local expertise was seen as a counterweight to the climate expertise at the central level. In the Norwegian region of Rogaland, for example, where there have been several conflicts over wind power plants, the local leader Erik Thoring argued that they had much more expertise on the effects of these local developments than the central office. The local chapter arrange weekly talks on issues of nature conservation, mainly on biodiversity.

Similarly, the Gjermund Andersen of the powerful Oslo and Akershus chapter pointed out that local activists had extensive knowledge on the local topics they are currently working with. He pointed to their local expertise on forestry issues, built up over decades of struggle for the forests surrounding the nation's capital. In his view, more of the organization's resources should be devoted to strengthening and this local expertise, instead of taking on new tasks on the central level.

> (…) Talk to the activists in Oppland about cabin development in the mountains, no one knows more about it than then. Talk to the activists in Nordland about the plantations of Sikta spruce along the coast, they have immense knowledge. Talk to the activists in Hedmark about the forest! (...) All of the regional chapters have their expert knowledge. Why can't they receive resources to work on behalf of the organization, instead of us having one person on the same issue on the central level, far removed from the actual reality which surrounds us?

This accumulated knowledge is not always transferrable to new issues, and gives local activist incentives to stick to the issues they know most about. It may also skew their assessment when climate change concerns must be squared with local biodiversity, as seen in the discussion over windmills. Gjermund Andersen underlined that their regional activity plan was "chemically free of climate change".

If the assessments of local projects were made objectively on a case-by-case basis, we would expect more conflict in Denmark, where the potential damage to landscape and nature is greater. There are precious few areas of wild nature, and these areas are often the cheapest spots for new windmills. In Norway, there is more space for windmills, and less damage to the total area of unspoiled nature, relatively speaking. However, the climate benefits of local windmills are easier to understand in Denmark. Danish environmentalists can be relatively certain that new renewable energy will contribute to phasing out domestic fossil fuel consumption.

This argument is harder to make in Norway, where the domestic electricity production is already predominantly renewable. In addition, NNV's history is largely based on protests against renewable energy projects, through the heated struggle against hydro projects in the 70s and 80s.

The conflict over the "green certificates" exemplify this problem. The increased amount of local development is harder to accept when the climate effect is unclear. Activists must weigh their existing expertise on local nature preservation against a climate argument that experts are still arguing over, and with several unknowns. To know the actual climate effect of a local windmill or power line, a local activist may have to trust that the power is not additional to fossil power and that it does not increase oil production if it is used on platforms. This is hard to prove, as it depends on several other difficult questions. Is the European climate emission trading scheme actually working? Does Norway have enough capacity to export the energy? Will excess gas that is not used for electricity production on the oil platforms will replace more polluting sources of energy if it is exported? These are questions that still puzzle experts and politicians.

This conflict is not unique to climate change. As Yearley (2005) argues, science is not an easy weapon to wield. Experts may differ in their analysis, and industry may easily counter scientific arguments with their own reports or scientists. Last, but not least, the legitimacy of science can be undermined by industry advocates, or even by environmentalists themselves (Yearley 2005:143). In the difficult discussions about the "green certificates" program, NNV risk being put in the same difficult position as environmentalists in the UK, which gradually found themselves at the "wrong side" of science, as new information about GMOs and nuclear transport was brought to the table (Yearley 2005: 122,173). Science can be an "unreliable friend", especially when it is not rooted in local experiences, but in scientific findings that may be contested, reframed or disproven. If the arguments against the climate

effect of green certificates are true, it will severely weaken the main argument for the organization's support for the program.

In this perspective, it is not surprising that the most successful examples of local work in both countries is related to issues that are easily compatible with existing knowledge about nature, and where the climate effect is clear, such as road development and energy conservation. In both countries, transportation was mentioned as an important local climate-related issue among several of the activists, and the Norwegian "Oil Free" campaign promotes energy conservation. For the local leader in Sør-Trøndelag Steinar Nygard, who was generally positive to local climate work, energy conservation was clearly superior to local renewable power development.

> When we see the green certificates and the wind mills, we think it's a bad way of getting renewable energy (…) it's a huge waste of nature.

While this and other issues were hard to gauge the climate effect of, most local activist had an easier time working with transportation-related issues. Here, they would even be willing to "sacrifice" conservation concerns on behalf of climate issues. The key was knowing the effect. As Hege Sjølie from Hedmark argued:

> When they upgrade the railway, we know that I will impact the beachfront, and we're not too fond of the chosen path of the railway lines (…) but we know that it will make a positive impact on greenhouse gas emissions. With wind power (…) we're unsure about whether the gains outweigh the losses. The sacrifice might seem too big, it takes a different dimension.

This quote shows us that the local opposition to windmill may be neither "kneejerk" NIMBY-like behavior as the Danish climate advisor Jens La Cour hinted at. Nor is it necessarily based on poor understanding. Rather,

the local opposition involves an honest assessment of gains and losses, pros and cons.

8.2 What forms of expertise counts in climate policy?

The activist's local knowledge may count in the local leader's choice of local activities. But is it of any use for the organization in general? Both organizations are democratic, and policies and important statements are, as a rule, discussed and voted upon either at the national assemblies or in the national board. Still, there are signs that the central level does not value the local activist's expertise on climate-related issues. I will here delve into two examples, one from each country.

In Denmark, the Climate Network's conflict with the central level was largely based on indignation over being ignored by the central level as sources of knowledge and information. During the Climate Network seminar I attended, one of the local activists, Palle Marcher from Copenhagen, tried to raise the issue of light rail development as an alternative to new highways. The representative from the Secretariat, Janne Wichard Henriksen, cut the discussion short, arguing that this was not on the agenda, and that the light rail plans were in any case not politically viable. [37] After Janne had left, the coordinating committee of the Network discussed the event. The leader Christian Bundgaard was strongly critical:

> You could hear it from Janne there, on our meeting, that she felt as if…as if we went too far in coming up with proposals that were too concrete. (…) We're not supposed to intervene, that's something they're supposed to figure out in there, you know. They're in what we call an ivory tower. We're the ones living out here in reality, and see what really happens.

The local activists in the network were especially irked about not being included in the organization's scientific committees. The scientific

[37] Based on recordings from a meeting in the Climate Network 1.12.2012

committees are appointed by the central committee, based on their expertise. They have to be members of the organizations, but do not have to be active. While the committees were previously responsible for drafting the organization's policies, this is now done by the secretariat. However, the committees play an important role in advising the central commission, through a representative, and give their opinion on policy suggestions from the secretariat. According to the leader of the Environment committee Sine Beuse Fauerby, the Climate Network could also revise policy, but had chosen not to do so. She acknowledged that the Climate Network did not seem to be content in their role, and rather wanted to fill the role of a scientific committee themselves. During the meeting I attended, the aforementioned network member Palle Marcher did indeed forward a suggestion to form additional scientific committees, to increase local member's scientific input to the organization's political leadership. [38]

While these local activists are not in opposition to the climate work of the central level, they are largely aggravated because they feel that their local experience and expertise is ignored. The local activists want to use the network as a channel for influencing the organization's national policies, while the central level wants the network to be a channel for disseminating information in a more top-down or horizontal manner.

A Norwegian example points to similar sentiments from the Norwegian central level. The organization is in the process of launching a new program involving activists in their climate work. The "climate ambassador" program, launched in spring 2013, engages volunteers to hold talks on Norwegian schools on climate issues. As the program is still in the initiating phase, I did not include it in the overview above. According to project coordinator Audun Randen Johnsson, the handful of ambassadors are mainly recruited from the leadership of Nature and

[38] Based on a recording of a meeting in the Climate Network's coordinating committee, 1.12.2012

Youth, which already has a similar program in place. They are "ambassadors" in the sense that they present the organization's analysis and policy on climate change, and the program is part of an effort to increase recruitment both to the Conservation Society and Nature and Youth.

The central leadership is wary that this role should not collide with the local chapter's work. As the ambassadors will often hold talks in municipalities where the Conservation Society has local chapters, the leadership wants to avoid any possible conflict between the message and the local chapter's policies. As climate advisor Holger Schaupitz argued:

> …they won't be able to run around and have all sorts of opinions on issues in spite of the local chapters, that they should be asked about that road or this energy project or whether we should place new houses over there. That kind of stuff will still be done in the ordinary structure.

The training and coordination of the ambassadors is done by the central level, and the title of the program sums up their role in the organizations. The ambassadors, unlike the local chapters, would not have much autonomy. They represent the central level's policies, and must heed the balancing act between local and central concerns.

As we have seen above, the central level are wary of having "loose cannons" on the deck when it comes to climate policy. Both the Climate Network and the Climate Ambassadors are set in roles dictated by the central level. This is understandable from a simple organizational point of view – a democratic structure requires reverence for democratic decisions. However, we may ask whether this pattern is stronger when it comes to climate policy than other issues. The established model of climate policy, negotiated on the top level and handed down, may have been replicated more or less consciously within the organizations. The central level is worried about deals that have been struck, compromises that must be made. My material does not open up for a comparison between issues and fields of work. However, the central level's apprehension towards local

climate initiative and engagement in keeping climate initiative "in line" may suggest that some of the "bottleneck" effect charted by Victor (2011) in international politics may have been replicated within the organizations.

Members are seen as important sources of legitimacy and as local enforcers of the organization's policies, but less important as sources of experience and expertise that may be of use in the central organization's climate work.

8.3 A battle of regimes?

Here, I will discuss the findings above in light of Jamison's "regimes of sustainability". Jamison (2001) points out that, "One of the main problems [with the environmental movement] is that the different strategies tend to compete for resources and influence" (Jamison 2001:179). This is true within the environmental movement, but may also be true within core organizations that embody both "residual", "dominant" and "emerging" regimes.

In windmill discussions in particular, several of the local chapters present arguments from the "residual" understanding of environmental action. They react to local renewable energy development through traditionalist resistance, based on factual or lay knowledge about local biodiversity and cultural landscape. Meanwhile, the central level are strongly marked by the "dominant" cognitive regime. In the discussion over renewable energy, the central level has accepted a trade-off between climate change and local nature, based on a scientific/managerial understanding of how local environmental organizations. These decisions have been anchored in democratic decisions, but this agreement is vulnerable as local activists see the plan set into action, and react using their "residual" modes of resistance to local destruction of nature.

In Denmark, this conflict is more toned down, and most chapters seem content with the organization's compromises on windmills. In addition DN has formulated their general climate policy in a more "residual"

framework of nature conservation, and the efforts on the central level constitute a much smaller amount of the organization's central level. In Norway, the climate issue has to a stronger degree been approached within the dominant, centralized and professionalized cognitive regime. The central level has also been important participants in transnational forms of agency on the climate issue, taking a strong role in international climate process. This may partly explain why the issue has caused a larger divide between climate-oriented actors and the more nature-oriented members. Such internal disagreements can be damaging to mainstream organizations, if they are not properly addressed. A similar conflict fostered an all-out rebellion in the ranks of the American Sierra Club in the early 1990's, between several important local chapters and the central level over forestry issues (Dowie, 1996:216-218).

8.4 Where should climate activism come from?

But Jamison assumes the emergence of a synthetic regime, where old and new modes of social action, agency and knowledge production are combined. Both NNV and DN should in principle be well equipped for this, as they embody both residual and dominant cognitive approaches to environmental issues.

Here, we may return to the qualities of the issue as a possible explanation: Fostering local climate change activism, involves a certain reversal of the dynamic of the conservation societies. While nature preservation has often been a way to set local concerns in a national and international context, climate change is an international and national issue that must be put in a local context if the organizations wants to utilize their large local presence. But the danger is that this reversal creates resistance or even refusal from the local activists.

As Jamison (2001) points out, the many environmental organizations that predated the second wave, and "embody 'residual' cultural formations", wield a double-edged sword. They "may build upon their traditional knowledge in their contemporary activities", but also face difficulties

when they try to "escape from the limits of their histories, to transcend their traditions" (Jamison 2001:158). As we have seen, this remains a challenge. The stable, but highly "reactive" quality of local work through hearings may make it harder for local chapters to approach climate change locally, and the instances of conflict between local and central actors has sharpened over the past years in the Norwegian case.

There are also clear signs that it will be hard to facilitate such a synthesis from the top down, due to the very nature of volunteerism. As we have seen, the leadership in DN were uneasy about "pushing" the "Climate Municipalities" program on local chapters. Lars Haltbrekken, the president of NNV, also argued it was hard to implement local climate activism from "above". "(…) Partly out of respect for what people have engaged themselves in, issues that engage people locally, we have been a bit careful about pushing this." Gjermund Andersen, the respondent from Oslo and Akershus underlined this point:

> I've been the leader of a local chapter, and I know that nothing is more irritating than when someone suggests what we should work with, who knows better about what we should do locally. It doesn't work.

Arguing that local members has joined the organization because they care strongly about local nature, Andersen saw it as unnatural to be "taught" what to work with.

> If 80 percent of the members have joined the organizations because of nature, it's not unreasonable that we should strike a balance.

This point to the problems with trying to inspire grassroots activity from above, through seminars or information campaigns. The issues that local activists develop expertise about are chosen based on several non-scientific criteria, such as personal interests and background. Pointing out the strong impact of British ornithologists, Yearley (2005) comments that

"it was not scientific reasoning which led the group to work for birds rather than field mice and voles" (Yearley 2005:140). In other words, Science

> (…) is not a sufficient guide to what conservation groups should concentrate on and prioritize; nor, often, does science provide the member's reasons for engaging in conservation activities (Yearley 2005:140).

This suggests that fostering climate change activism must involve more than just supporting or encouraging current efforts. The organizations cannot rely on fanning the flame if there is no local spark. Still, this does not mean that scientific and/or abstract concepts cannot in itself be a spark for activism. The question is whether the environmental movement is able to foster modes of cognitive praxis that gives activists a way of levelling with science from "up there", to create local expertise and understandings "down here" which may supplement or underpin new knowledge of climate mitigation and adaptation.

8.5 Emerging forms of cognitive praxis

It is now time to turn to the sparks and flames that do exist at the local level. Here, I will go deeper into a few examples of climate activism presented by my respondents. For many of the activists, the issues themselves were the greatest source of expertise. Through practical work, they increased their knowledge, did research on their own, made new connections. In my interviews, I assumed that internal training was important, and asked about this. While seminars, discussion and talks were important, several of the activists pointed out that this was not the main source of knowledge. As Tormod Svartdal, leader in Telemark, Norway argued: "In a nutshell, we educate ourselves by working with issues and being local leaders".

According to Eyerman and Jamison (1991), the "cognitive praxis" of social movements involves a democratization of science in at least two important ways: by "transforming everyday knowledge into professional knowledge and, perhaps even more importantly, in providing new contexts

for the reinterpretation of professional knowledge." (Eyerman & Jamison 1991:52) As it adopts climate change, the environmental movement may play an important role both in transforming and translating climate-related knowledge both "upwards" and "downwards" through their activities.

The most successful examples of climate activism does indeed seem to be those that reinforce or create forms of local cognitive praxis. Here, I will go into three examples from the two organizations. The first is based on local climate vulnerability, and including climate change in existing work. The second is creating new forms of high-competence activism. The third is creating simpler, accessible forms of climate activism. As we can see, local expertise can at times become an obstacle to climate activism, when issues "collide". The opposite effect can be observed when local climate work is harmonized with existing expertise, creating a synthesis of "residual" and "dominant" cognitive regimes.

In Denmark, the prime example found in my interviews was climate adaptation. On this issue, the organization has largely re-framed their existing efforts to protect local nature as a means of climate adaptation.

> Large areas of continuous nature will be better equipped against the climate problems than small, scattered areas. We shall help and adapt nature to the climate challenges. [39]

As we can see, the main focus remains on protecting nature from climate change. In other words, these efforts do not necessarily do much to shift the perspective of the organization or its activists.

Climate adaptation has been a key to combining new and old expertise. The organization's existing work with nature preservation is held forth as an important part of the organization's climate work. Larger areas of preserved nature is both seen as important to increase natural resilience towards climate change, in case of extreme rainfall or rising oceans, and as a way of protecting human interests.

[39] The Danish Society for Nature Conservation (2012) Web resource

Two Norwegian examples may be better fit to show examples of climate-related cognitive praxis within the environmental movement. The fact that these are both Norwegian may be because NNV is stronger involved with climate change work. It may also be caused by the inherent Norway-centric biases of this study, detailed in the method chapter.

Firstly, the "oil free"-project has created a new channel for climate activism in several Norwegian local chapters, primarily in the larger cities such as Kristiansand Trondheim and Bergen, where the project originated. The project has served to increase internal expertise and give local activists a new perspective on their local communities. The local leaders that have adopted the campaign describe it as successful. In Trondheim, an information meeting about energy efficiency generated so much interest that the venue was packed, according to local leader Steinar Nygard. He pointed out that the program was easy for people to understand. "When it concerns your living room, you understand the issue on more of a ground level".

Another clear benefit was that the program served to increase the local activist's expertise both by connecting them to local businesses working with energy preservation, and with the local populace. The project has won the local chapter in Hordaland an award from the local industry, and external and internal funding made it possible to have two full-time employees working with energy preservation locally. The initiator Nils Tore Skogland saw the work as self-reinforcing "It's fun to work this way. You make new experiences during the work, and you share it with others who start up, then you develop the concept further". This form of activity fits with the "emerging", synthetic cognitive regime imagined by Jamison (2001). The local chapters have successfully carved out a role as a meeting grounds between experts, the public and local business interests.

The Oil Free project, as climate adaptation, is more readily compatible with activist's existing expertise, as it concerns energy conservation, and not the more problematic issue of local development and possible

destruction of nature. It is also in line with the traditional worldview of environmental activists. Steinar Nygard, the local leader in Sør-Trøndelag pointed to their relatively newly established energy and climate group, which focused on energy conservation, referred to at the local and central level as "white certificates". While green certificates have created conflict between local and central actors, such "white certificates" are more compatible with the established ideology and expertise of local activists. The originator of the project, Nils Tore Skogland in Hordaland, pointed out that the program was based on core principles in the organization, developed as early as 1974. "So far, increasing the production has not worked. We need to reduce consumption". In addition, the project has been introduced within the existing organizational structure, and harmonizes with the ideal of autonomous local chapters working with issues on their own accord, with support from the central level.

The second example is the "lunch bag driver" action in Vest-Agder, Norway. The local leader argued that climate action fostered new ways of thinking, and new expertise, which increased their engagement in the issue. The action is not only a media gimmick, but a form of lay science, which did not require extensive knowledge. Through the action, local activists produced new statistics, which could be used as political ammunition in the local discussions over road development, and strengthened their own understanding of local climate pollution. This was clear in local leader Marte Ulltveit-Moes own assessment:

> Afterwards [the younger activist] told me that she had learned much more from that than from a seminar in political science.

Thus, we may Yearley's point on its head: Science may not offer concrete forms of action, but concrete action can be a gateway to science, as Jamisons "cognitive praxis" model implies. The local activists are performing activities that the central level would not be able to do. Their local expertise becomes a valuable asset in the national struggle against

increased emissions from road construction. Simple forms of local activity can provide the spark for further climate action, and create self-reinforcing local activism that inspires further autonomous grassroots activity. In my interview with Ulltveit Moe, she discussed how they had branched out their activity to include several innovative forms of activism, from setting up climate-related plays to arranging oil-themed dinner parties and launching a campaign to eat locally produced food.

It is interesting to note that NNV has "outsourced" at least one possible source of "cognitive praxis": the establishment of the quasi-governmental organization "The green home guard" (now "Green living") in 1991, pushed environmental improvements on the "home front" out of the program. According to former managing Director Jan Thomas Odegard, the organization has largely become depoliticized. Climate advisor Audun Randen Johnsen jokingly argued that "every time we've had a good idea, we've started a new organization". Odegard argued that this strategy may be changing, pointing out that "Oil free" was more similar to the work Green Living was founded to do.

Reviewing the discussion of "cognitive regimes", as outlined by Jamison (2001), The three examples above show signs of a possible emerging form of synthetic climate activism, embodying both the "residual" and the "dominant" regimes of cognitive praxis. If such programs and local initiatives are supported by the central level, they may help bridge the current gap between the central and local level in both countries, and broaden the organization's impact on climate change.

But such a strategy may involve difficult choices, and possibly weaken the impact on the national level. An example of this, could be found in Denmark. The traditional Danish wind mill partnerships have been held forth as a typical example of the green movement's "cognitive praxis" during and following the second green wave. The partnerships have traditionally strengthened local environmentalists. The windmill partnership movement "provided a temporary space for experimentation

with new ‘modes’ of knowledge production that had both cosmological, technological and organizational dimensions” (Jamison & Baark 1999:210). We would expect this to be a great asset to DN, and a possible bridge between the local and the central level on climate issues. A surprising find was that five such projects had, in the eyes of some local activists, been undermined by the central level.

This is the account of the incident as recounted by Christian Bundgaard: Several similar windmill partnerships: in Øresund outside of Copenhagen, in Sunneberg in Sydjylland, on Bornholm and Skjælland. The six local initiatives contacted the Danish Parliament’s Energy Commission, and asked for financial support for these plans, to make it economically feasible to build the projects at sea instead of on land. Shortly after the project had been submitted for approval, there was a change of government. The Department of Finance decided that the planned projects in Øresund, Sunneberg, Sydjylland, Bornholm and Skjælland would be too expensive, and cut the funds. A new assessment of wind mill projects were initiated from the government, performed by a consulting firm. They argued that the most cost-efficient placement would be along the west coast, where there is more wind. As Mejlflak had been submitted and approved before the five others, it was not cancelled.

The local activists disagreed with the way the calculations were done, and wanted the central organization to fight for the projects that they had proposed based on the tradition of local windmill partnerships. According to initiator Christian Bundgaard, the central leadership and secretariat did little to stop this.

> We tried to stop them several times, and they at least made clear that they did not oppose the local projects, but that’s no real statement, you know. It’s not…they had planted the idea that you could put these projects out to the highest bidder, you know. The conservative parties were eager to embrace the idea (…).

The windmill partnership behind the Mejlflak project had been the first to send in an official application for money, and was approved before the change in government, but the other projects were scrapped. Bundgaard was strongly critical to the line from the central leadership, pointing out the narrow understanding of the benefits and costs of windmill projects that underpinned the consultant firm's calculations. "You're only supposed to look at where the wind is strongest, err…to build. The concern for local nature, even in Copenhagen, was not included. It's a grotesque way of making assessments". He largely interpreted this as a result of the central level being more in tune with the government bureaucrats than the local activists.

> The secretariat has taken the power, and they (…) have an idea about, I mean, that 'now, you know, we are working with some people at the ministry at Christiansborg, who, I mean…we'll invite them over and convince them to make the changes. (…)

It is hard to say whether large protests against the government's use of a consultancy firm would have made a big difference, but the trade-off between local initiative and central deal making seems clear. This may be because this form of work has traditionally been the domain of the Organization for Renewable Energy. Still, windmill partnerships are one example of local action and expertise that cannot be replicated at the central level, and could potentially help fulfill the organization's energy policy. It could also serve to energize local chapters hesitant to accept an increased pace of windmill development. Instead of strengthening an established form of cognitive praxis, the central level has ceded the expertise on wind mills to professional actors that perform their calculations based on narrow, economic criteria.

A transition to a new, cognitive "synthesis" does not just require innovation on the local level, but also that the actors at the central level are in tune with established forms of local cognitive praxis which may

strengthen the organization's overall goals. But this would possibly mean forfeiting or prioritizing down channels of influence on the central level. Climate advisor Jens La Cour pointed out that a running dialogue with national politicians was an important part of their current policy, and that this could be lost if activists such as those in the Climate Network did not follow the democratically agreed-upon policy. If the organizations are not willing to make such a trade-off, further adoption of the climate issue is likely to further debilitate the organization's mobilization potential, possibly weakening their impact on climate change in the long run, in addition to increasing internal conflict when climate change-related efforts are at odds with nature preservation.

8.6 Chapter summary

While the central level in both organizations largely perceive their activists "customers" of their "products" in term of activism, the local leaders are proud of their own expertise, and ability to understand issues and take action on their own initiative. Acknowledging this, makes it possible to move beyond simplistic interpretations of the choices local activists make, and the conflicts that may arise. When the central level is not sensitive to the importance of local inclusion and established local expertise and forms of cognitive praxis, they turn renewable energy into a local problem, not a local solution. This is especially striking when compared to the amicable cooperation between the central and local level in Denmark over the "Oil Free" initiative. Here, the central level has supported and encouraged a form of local expertise and capacity building. A clear challenge in fostering climate change activism, is that there may be fewer "sparks" for climate engagement in local communities, compared to how many nature-related activities can lead to a political involvement in nature preservation. One possible entrance may be climate vulnerability, as witnessed in the Danish climate adaptation efforts. Another is to encourage simple activities that makes climate change visible and understandable, new forms of "cognitive praxis", which may cast the local activists in more

autonomous roles, utilizing their local presence and honing their local expertise.

9.0 Conclusion

Both the organizations I have looked at have ramped up their climate efforts in recent years, though the Norwegian organization spend more resources in the issue than the Danish counterpart does. If fostering climate activism at the local level is like "teaching an old dog a new trick", as the organizational secretary of DN argued, we may ask what is needed to increase local climate change-related activity? Should they change the dog or change the trick? Or have they simply barked up the wrong tree?

The responses suggest that there are several ways to increase local climate activity, and that such efforts can be self-reinforcing. Looking at both the positive and negative experiences mentioned by my respondents, I have found several important factors in facilitating local climate activities.

- The local climate issue is visible and easy to understand.
- That local leaders and activists have the expertise to identify local climate issues, fostering further "discovery" and understanding of local climate issues.
- That climate change-related efforts do not collide with existing expertise, and unavoidable instances are handled in a way that includes the local activists.
- That the climate-related activities and forms of cognitive praxis offer autonomy and facilitates further learning and capacity building.

An important, if not surprising find, is that the most committed local climate activists were engaged in locally initiated projects. While it is understandable that the central level of the organization want to offer activities to their members, the idea of the activists as "customers", most prevalent in the Danish organization, may miss central aspects of local environmental activism. The most committed activists had the means of

production of their own activities, whether it was building a local windmill, or increasing the awareness of energy conservation. Climate change may indeed be "localized" as it has already been "globalized", and that such a transformation may be facilitated within the two first-wave organizations I have studied.

Another find is that the organizations' inclusion and influence in governmental processes, built up over decades, may weaken the ability to address climate change at the local level. This is most visible in the local dependency on the hearing process. While the role as guardians of local nature is a source of pride, it makes the local activists more reactive than proactive, and makes it harder to set new issues on the agenda. The biggest challenge is that these channels of influence, which primarily concerns new development or planning, may be of little use to change the status quo, with the exceptions of the municipal climate plans.

Reviewing the existing trajectory of the organizations, it seems clear that much of the current friction cannot be attributed to the issue alone. The trends of professionalization and centralization is an important factor for why the climate activities initiated by the central level are predominantly top-down, and less focused on long-term organizational than short-term political goals. In the Norwegian case, the underlying center-periphery conflict seems to be an important factor in understanding local resistance to renewable energy.

This has at least two implications: effective local climate work within the organizations must be adapted to these circumstance, and larger efforts to recruit and "activate" new members may encourage local chapters that are more receptive to working with climate issues. These effects warrants further study, and are important to understand both for organizations, governments and business interests.

Another important find is that the climate may become more visible locally than it is today. As we have seen, the conceptualization of climate change as a "global" issue is an important reason for why local activists

does not engage it. However, this label is not given. This is not to say that some issues are not at their core more “global” or “local” than others, but that perspectives may shift, and make a myriad issues become apparent. Sometimes, as the old saying goes, you can’t see the forest for the trees, or in this case – the trees for the forest. In both organizations, local activists have themselves commented on this process, from the differing views on the Mejlflak project in Denmark, to the difference between the local leader in Oslo and Kristiansand in Norway.

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Interview questions

For the central level:

1) How are local chapters involved with climate change in your organization?

   (Follow-up questions based on responses)

For the local level:

1) About how many people are active in your region? Criteria: works with nature/environmental issues monthly. How many of these, if applicable, works with climate change?
2) What kind of "education" (seminars, talks, etc.) are available for members and local leader in your region, either from the organization or by the local chapter? Are any of these related to climate change? (Later added: do you feel that you have enough information to work with climate change?)
3) Has your local chapter, or chapters in your region, been engaged in issues related to climate change? If yes, what kind of issues? If no, why not?
4) How much contact do you have with the central level of the organization, through e-mail, telephone or other measures?
5) Do you think your local chapter or the local chapters in general are important in the organization's work against climate change?
6) Does climate change-related issues conflict with other issues you work with. If yes, are you conflicted about working with climate change?

7) What do you think is the most important climate-related issue in your country?

Recordings

I received permission to record and cite two meetings. Statements from the recordings have been cited by name, and these names are included in the list of interviews above.

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